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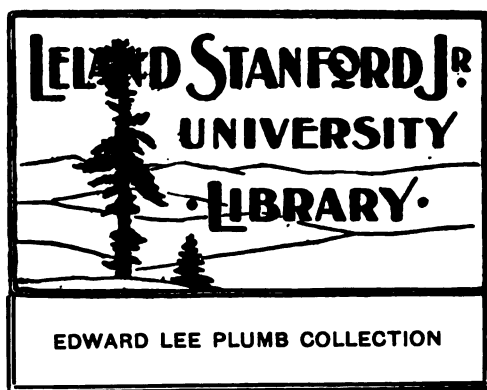
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TO THE MERCANTILE AND INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.

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THE
MEXICAN PAPERS.

THE MEXICAN QUESTION,
THE GREAT AMERICAN QUESTION,

WITH

Personal Reminiscences,

BY

EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

A SERIAL-ISSUED SEMI-MONTHLY.

ROSS & TOUSEY, 121 Nassau Street,
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EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

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By EDWARD E. DUNBAR,

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THE MEXICAN PAPERS.

NOTE.

The MEXICAN PAPERS are issued solely on my own responsibility, and they will be entirely under my control. No political party or individual interests, in this country or Mexico, have part or lot in the matter.

The object of these publications is to draw the attention of the mercantile and industrial classes in the United States, to the national importance of the Mexican question; and to place before them information respecting Mexico, her people and her institutions, with the view of correcting public opinion on some highly important points, which, in my judgment, are entirely ignored, or thoroughly misconceived. These subjects will be explained with reference to the vital interests the American people have in Mexico, not omitting to touch, suggestively, upon those intimate relations which, sooner or later, must be established between the two republics.

The ignorance that prevails throughout this country relative to Mexico and Mexican affairs, is a matter of public acknowledgment and comment. But a growing interest touching every thing appertaining to that country is beginning to manifest itself; and this is one great inducement under which I put forth such knowledge as I possess on the subject, only regretting that neither my business pursuits, nor my abilities, will permit me to wholly occupy the great and grand field that is open to one of literary occupation. I write with no attempt at rhetorical flourish, or literary effect, but as a business man, brought up in a practical, hard school. My

aim is, to reach the common sense of the active, progressive, working masses, and to this end, I shall be compelled to say much that will not be very flattering to the politician, or the political parties of the day, whenever political matters are discussed, as they necessarily will be, in connection with the main subject.

Having spent many years as a pioneer in those distant regions of which I treat, I returned two years since to the point from which I emigrated—the city of New York. Circumstances not altogether of my own choosing, but having connection with business enterprises throughout the countries most recently covered by the advancing wave of American civilization, brought me in contact with those who figure in what is called the *political arena*. The result of this contact, in my own mind, up to the present time, is, the discovery that our national legislature, our government officials—in short, our politicians—revolve in a sphere distinct from the people, and breathe an atmosphere that causes a feverish beating of the national pulse, and a dangerous palpitation of the national heart. I do not discern the slightest difference in the political *status*, or the political *animus*, of our great political parties—the one being just as ready to slaughter the common interests of the country, in the accomplishment of their own particular and selfish ends, as the other. It appears as though the narrowing down of our national politics to a single point, which common understandings and a low order of demagogues can grasp and wield as a political hobby, has either dwarfed our great men down to pigmies, or driven them out of politics altogether. One thing is certain: our political sea must cast up something from its depths of a different, higher order than such as we now find drifting about on its surface, before our national government can be elevated to a respectable standard, and placed on a safe basis. No one or two men can work out this great achievement of state. It must be accomplished by a powerful combination of patriotic souls and great intellects, made up from the different sections of the country.

It may be said now, that the country advances *in spite* of the government. Nothing but the indomitable persever-

ance and the unresting energies, the intelligence and virtue of the masses, keeps us up and carries us onward, a united people. How long before the politicians will master this favorable and fortunate combination, is a question that may well start some serious reflections. There appears to be something like an "irrepressible conflict" going on between the illegitimate interests of the politicians, on the one side, and the legitimate interests of the people on the other, and as matters now progress, it looks as though the politicians might come off victorious.

The treatment bestowed upon the Mexican question in this country (as well as in Europe), brings out some startling features in American politics, which it will be my endeavor to present to the public in their true light.

The MEXICAN PAPERS will plead for the cause of liberty in Mexico, but not in a partisan spirit.

Communications of reasonable length, calculated to interest and enlighten the public on the great question, whether in accordance with, or opposed to my individual opinions, shall have place in the columns of the MEXICAN PAPERS.

EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

PERSONAL.

It is now twelve years since my experience with Mexico and the Mexican people commenced. During this period, I have travelled over a considerable portion of that country, and resided therein at intervals. I have been occupied in explorations, and in business connected with mining and trading interests throughout California, Arizona, along the Pacific coast, and in Mexico. My intercourse has been with all classes of the Mexican people, from the humblest Indian peon to the wealthiest Don in the land. The opportunities of studying Mexico and her people, which it has been my good fortune to enjoy, have, I trust, been improved to such an extent as will

enable me to give to the public, something relative to that rich and beautiful country and its people, of an interesting and instructive nature.

It is with the masses of the laboring population in Mexico that much of my experience lies. That class of inhabitants known as *Pueblos Indians*,* and those of a grade higher, called *gente de rason*,† were for several years my servants and attendants in explorations throughout Northern Mexico, Arizona, and New Mexico, and they have labored for me in the principal branches of Mexican industry—mining and agriculture.

Whether as attendants or servants over the long and arid desert stretches of those unexplored and unknown regions, in contact with wild and ruthless hordes of savages, or as laborers in the mines and the field, I have found them faithful and industrious. My undertakings with this people have been attended with success; and furthermore, I have, in numerous instances, experienced at their hands, that kindness and devotion which can only be founded on the highest degree of generosity and courage of which our nature is capable. The knowledge I have gained of Mexico and Mexicans under these peculiar advantages, has given me views and opinions relative to the country and people, somewhat different from those generally prevailing abroad. If my experience in that quarter of the world enables me to shed any light upon a momentous and difficult question, one of the main objects of this publication will be attained.

On returning to New York from the northern frontier of Mexico in 1858, I continued to take an active interest in Mexican affairs, and having resolved to visit the interior of Mexico, March, 1859, I was induced to undertake a Mexican correspondence with the *NEW YORK TIMES* and with the *LONDON TIMES*. For the space of six months, my letters from Mexico appeared in the former journal over the signature of "MITLA." During this period, my communications to the *LONDON TIMES* were what may be termed *occasional*. I had the satisfaction of see-

- * Half-civilized Indians, who live in villages.
- People of reason

ing my letters to the latter journal made the basis of its editorial remarks, favoring the liberal cause in Mexico, and an active, decided *American* policy in that country.

It so happened that Mr. McLANE was appointed minister to Mexico about this time, and we were companions on the voyage from New Orleans to Vera Cruz, at which latter place we arrived April 1, 1859.

The Constitutional government located at Vera Cruz was then composed of the following parties : BENITO JUAREZ, President ; MELCHOIR OCAMPO, Secretary of Foreign Affairs ; LERDO DE TEJADA, Minister of Hacienda or Finance ; SANTOS DEGOLLADO, Secretary of War ; and MANUEL RUIS, Minister of Justice. The Liberal party comprehended the masses of the Mexican people. The Constitutional government was acknowledged by twenty out of the twenty-three states which compose the confederacy. The Liberals also held all the ports in the country, and though far more numerous than their opponents, they were poor, exhausted, scattered over a vast extent of country, and with scarcely any means of cohesion which would enable them to throw any united and vigorous force against their enemies, who, compact, energetic, cunning and rich, were making a last desperate struggle to hold the power and wealth of ages. The Liberals of Mexico had made many unsuccessful attempts to break the chains that bound them. Domestic treachery and foreign oppression, outrage and abuse, had all combined to crush the liberal-minded and patriotic. The bloody page of Mexican history is marked with a deeper stain at regular intervals, by the execution of those leading spirits, who, one after another, have espoused the cause of freedom and humanity in that benighted country. But now a revolution had occurred which struck at the diseased and rotten foundation of Mexican nationality. For the first time, a revolution had forced into the issue those deep-seated evils under which the nation had existed for more than three centuries. For the first time, a distinct and enduring line was drawn between the two parties ; the one struggling for healthy and vigorous progress according to the light of the age ; the other making wild and savage efforts to fasten upon the nation still greater oppression according to the

teachings of ages past. This latter party, now reduced to a mere faction of the people, had its government in the city of Mexico. That government, usurpation, or whatever it may be called, had its immediate origin in intrigues which overthrew COMONFORT, who, as the representative of liberal principles, had attained power.

The authority re-established by the church party represented, however, in all its parts, and in every particular, that ancient tyranny which for more than three centuries has caused Mexico to weep tears of blood. This government, in its declarations and acts, repudiated all intercourse, social and commercial, with the United States; and in all this, as well as in its murderous propensities and purposes, its determined and destructive despotism over its own people, its bitter hatred of Christianity and freedom—this wicked faction, this outrageous caricature or semblance of a human government, was recognized and sustained by England, France, and Spain. The representatives of these European powers were the open and active partisans of the Miramon, or church party government—inciting it to every excess in plundering and butchering the weak and defenceless people. They went far beyond the limits allowed diplomacy. At the very time Mr. McLANE arrived in Vera Cruz, the commanders of the English and French fleets were under orders to bombard that city, the seat of the Liberal government.

There was, in fact, the most decided and positive interference in the affairs of Mexico on the part of England, France, and Spain. These powers had united with the remnant of a despotic faction in Mexico, whose parentage was due to another continent and another age, and declared to the United States, in the most open and offensive manner: "*You have no rights here; and neither your power, influence, or interests, shall be extended over this land.*"

This great and glaring fact, this anti-American, anti-republican feeling and policy, Mr. McLANE encountered at the very outset of his mission. Could he, then, unite with those representatives of European powers in acknowledging a party whose very existence depended on European and despotic influence,

and the severance of every thing like social, political, and commercial intercourse with the United States? Or, should MR. McLANE have declined to act under these circumstances, and stated to the people and government of the United States: "The government holding the city of Mexico hate us and our institutions; they wish to form no relations with our people and government, but desire the establishment of a despotic power in their midst, under the protection of Europe; and in this they are openly and actively sustained by England, France, and Spain. The Liberals of Mexico are mostly of Indian blood. The popular cry is, that they are a good-for-nothing, thieving, plundering race; at war with all the principles of Christianity and freedom, and deserving of no sort of sympathy or aid on the part of the United States. We had better avoid all interference, and let matters take their course."

Mr. McLANE acted no such unchristian, inhuman part as this; but on the 6th of April, 1859, formally recognized the constitutional government of Mexico, represented by President JUAREZ. The ceremony took place in one of the long rooms of the *Palacio Municipal*.

President JUAREZ was escorted by a body of the regular army, and surrounded by his principal civil and military officers. Mr. McLANE was attended by his secretary, and a suite of American gentlemen. The scene was in the highest degree solemn and impressive. The historical interest attached to the place where the great filibuster CORTEZ commenced his career of conquest; the fair Anglo-Saxon, face to face with the swarthy Toltec, both standing on the common platform of religion, education, and constitutional freedom, and recognizing each other in the bonds of peace and friendship, on behalf of their respective countries—combined to form one of those romantic and important events which occur so frequently in the history of the country. Viewed in all its bearings, this was a sublime act. In tracing the genealogy of the race of JUAREZ, we are carried back to the obscure and mysterious past of Mexico, from which the veil will never be lifted to mortal eyes; yet dim tradition, the spiritual index of the untutored, unlettered children of nature, points to the ancient Asiatics as the pro-

genitors of the Mexican people from whom JUAREZ sprung. By an extraordinary series of events, this pure Indian, now a man of education and accomplishments, having risen from mysterious depths, is found at the head of the nation in its last great struggle for life, liberty, and happiness. This Indian President of distracted Mexico—he who represents the Past as well as the Present—in behalf of the wretched remnant of a people of unknown antiquity, which the despotism of ages has not crushed out of existence, cries out to the youngest, freshest, and most powerful free government on earth for sympathy and support. The representative of that free government responds in the name of Christianity and humanity, and acknowledges before all the world, the right of this down-trodden and despised people to possess and enjoy that priceless boon to man—civil and religious liberty. No such spectacle has been witnessed for ages, and may not be again for ages to come. But, sad to relate, this act on the part of the American minister proved to be in advance of the time. The American people and Congress virtually placed the seal of condemnation on the sublime action of their representative in Mexico.

But that act of recognition extended to the Liberal government of Mexico will have the prominent and favorable place in history which its importance and merits demand. Aside from its grandeur in a moral point of view, it was a bold, clear, and decided announcement of the right of the American people and government to protect their interests abroad, and extend their institutions and influence, especially on this continent, even against all despotic agencies, and the opposition of foreign powers combined.

This recognition on the part of the American minister finally resulted in a treaty with the government recognized. But the relations thus formed by Mr. McLANE with the liberal government of Mexico, have been denounced and repudiated by the people and government of the United States. There is probably no instance on record where the simple diplomatic efforts of an American envoy to establish friendly and profitable relations with a foreign power, have been attacked with such bitter malignity and rude violence as in the case of Mr. McLANE. Our

minister to Mexico, wherever known, is regarded as a high-toned gentleman, of decided talent and thorough education. His integrity of character is unimpeachable, and his patriotism no one doubts; and yet, had this functionary been a very dolt in diplomacy, as corrupt as the vilest of politicians, and a black-hearted traitor to his country, he could not have been more heartily abused than he has been in his efforts to sustain the American name and character abroad, and the cause of liberty in Mexico, and create permanent relations of amity and commerce between the two countries. Whether such extraordinary conduct on the part of the American people and Congress, so contrary to their professions and the spirit of the age, arises from apathy, ignorance, partisan feeling in politics, or the lack of any thing like real sympathy with freedom in other countries, time only can determine. At the present moment we are united with despotic agencies to smother the new-born hopes of freedom in Mexico, and cast the people back into darkness and despair. The United States now occupy the meanest position toward Mexico that it is possible for a powerful and free republic to hold toward a weak and despairing neighbor nation—a position that will prove a sin and a shame to us in the future.

My own interests, of a purely commercial nature, required my presence in Mexico, and, as previously stated, I left New York for Vera Cruz in March, 1859, before Mr. McLANE was appointed minister. It was, therefore, an unexpected pleasure to meet him at New Orleans *en route* to the country of his new and important labors. I found Mr. McLANE an ardent student in Mexican affairs, seizing with avidity all information relative to matters in that country. My own stock of knowledge and experience was at his service, and I exerted all my powers to induce him to recognize the Juarez government. I do not know that I had one particle of influence with the minister. I hope I had. The urgent necessity of the case was, however, so vividly apparent to any cordial hater of a bloody, pagan despotism, that outside influences were unnecessary.

A combination of favorable circumstances placed me on a friendly and confidential footing with President JUAREZ and

his cabinet, during my sojourn of three months in Vera Cruz. I had an excellent opportunity to become acquainted with the *personelle*, the views, feelings, and purposes of those who represented the Liberal party and government of Mexico. I found them a band of patriots, who had pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the cause of freedom. I found them of exalted spirit, pure in private life, and well educated. It must be said, however, that the leaders in the Liberal party are not so eminently practical as the immediate necessities of their cause require them to be. With a thorough knowledge of the theory of free institutions, and firmly convinced of the justice of their cause, and of its destined success, they will not condescend, so to speak, to adopt that energetic, practical course with men and things, both at home and abroad, which is necessary to circumvent and counteract their wily and unscrupulous enemy. The officials in the Liberal party have never taken the first step toward disseminating information relative to the condition and wants of Mexico—the politics of the country, cause of the present civil war, &c., &c. The whole civilized world is banded together against the Liberals of Mexico, and yet they have never explained their true position, nor sent forth a plea in their own behalf. They also retain too many ancient abuses in the common affairs of life, even where they hold power. For instance, trade and commerce in Vera Cruz are hampered by formalities and other hindrances that ought to be immediately abolished.

But all these evils incidental to the old system, will disappear in due time. No one of ordinary sensibilities, can have personal intercourse with those leaders of the Liberal party who have suffered so much, and struggled so long against such fearful odds, without feeling that they are actuated by that true, deep, and eternal love for their country and fellow men, which will eventually be the means of redeeming the nation. Though they may commit errors, and grave ones, they are right at bottom, and deserving not only of a large charity, but a world-wide sympathy and support. No one can converse with the "little Indian," as President JUAREZ is sometimes sneeringly called, without being impressed with his deep

and determined patriotism, his unflinching firmness, and incorruptible integrity. Constitutionally, he is not very energetic; but the moderate course, or, as it may be called, the Fabian policy which he pursues, and which appears to be dictated by his judgment as well, may in the end prove the wisest and most successful. It has that appearance now; and the liberal-minded in every quarter should at least desire that these patriots and their party, might have the opportunity vouchsafed to them of regenerating their degraded and unhappy country.

Views and feelings of this nature occupied my mind when in Vera Cruz. I also became most thoroughly impressed with the importance of the Mexican question in its bearing upon the policy and action of the United States. It appeared to me that the time had come for the United States government to define its position with regard not only to the belligerent parties in Mexico, but toward those European powers who were so officiously intermeddling with the affairs of that country. The relation in which the Mexican question stood to the great question of slavery, which has periodically convulsed the United States during the past forty years, was another point of the highest importance. I had my own peculiar views on this subject—views acquired in practical business life and not in the political arena. I never could tolerate the doctrine that man has the right to hold property in man. Education and association, as well as the natural love of freedom and hatred of oppression, or the claim to the right to oppress, made me an enemy to slavery everywhere and in every form. At the same time, I could not be unmindful of the fact that human slavery was one of the corner-stones in the foundation of this Union, placed there by the fathers of the confederacy, and upon which a structure has arisen which towers up before the whole earth, and out of which has grown a question—that of slavery in the United States—the solution of which involves a greater amount of property, more human life, and higher interests to the world at large, than ever before clustered around any human problem in any age. Viewed thus, the question of slavery in the United States has an awful aspect, and on the face of things, it

appears that wisdom almost superhuman is needed to insure peace and safety to our common country, in its solution. But it may be that this result is to come from the foolishness of those who call themselves wise. It may be that in the narrow views, the paucity of intellect and the general degradation of politics, as developed by the politicians in our day, or *statesmen*, as they are called by their friends, Providence designs not to raise up any one man, or any class of men, of sufficient scope and power to grasp and wield the subject, and bring it to an issue at once—an issue which could only be of a character too fearful to contemplate. A greed for office, an insane passion for power amounting to a species of insanity, has seized upon the leaders of our great political parties, and for some years past they have been driving the country on to the dreaded issue at a fearful rate.

My own belief is, that up to the present moment, the limits of slavery have never been extended or diminished by agitation or legislation. I believe that expediency and profit, without regard to the Constitution of the United States or any principle of right or wrong, have marked out the boundaries of slave and free territory in these United States. The Missouri Compromise and the Wilmot Proviso, the Fugitive Slave Law and Kansas-Nebraska Bill, Lecompton and Anti-Lecompton, are all, as I conceive, so many abstractions, having no real effect on the practical operation of the institution, or the final and grand result. Slavery exists in these United States at the present moment, precisely where it would exist had all these legislative acts, these political will-o'-the-wisps, never been known. And within these limits slavery will exist until economy and safety demand its eradication.

From my observation and experience in the frontier slave states, in California, New-Mexico, Arizona, and Mexico, I am convinced that our domestic institution of slavery has found its limit; or, in other words, these United States, or any portion thereof, cannot, by legislation, backed by any amount of physical force, carry slavery in any direction beyond the line where it already exists. If the people could comprehend and believe this statement, it would be like oil upon the troubled waters.

I have had much discussion with members of Congress and senators on this point the past year, and find most of them, leading Republicans especially, have little or no knowledge of the subject, and that their political course is based on fatally erroneous theories. A leading Republican senator once said to me in conversation: "But for a good Whig administration at the time California was admitted into the Union, she would now be a slave state." Mr. Seward labors to convey the same idea in his last speech, when he says: "Under the auspicious influence of a Whig success, California and New Mexico appeared before Congress as labor states." This is a good specimen of the knowledge and the logic this class of politicians bring to bear on that part of the great question. I begged to differ from the senator, and gave him my reasons for so doing. I told him, that I was one of the earliest pioneers to California, and took an active part in bringing order out of chaos in that region. Any one who was on the spot, knows full well that slave labor could no more mingle with the element that emigrated to California, than oil can mix with water. No amount of coercion, either moral or physical, on the part of the United States, could ever have established slavery in California. No administration at Washington, no political party in the United States, had any thing to do with framing the constitution of California, or making her what she is in respect to slavery. Expediency and profit settled that question in California, as they have more recently settled it in the newly acquired territories of New Mexico and Arizona, and as they will settle it in Mexico.

Negro slavery in Mexico, though established and sustained by adepts in the business—Spaniards—never flourished. In some districts, the owners voluntarily gave the slaves their liberty, and the system had nearly died out from natural causes, when, in 1829, it was formally abolished by the Mexican Congress. We now find a laboring population in Mexico of nearly six millions. The great portion of these are of Indian blood, and the laborers are generally known as *peons*. The labor of these people under a free system, is found to be cheaper and more efficient than slave labor. Here is one of the insurmountable barriers to the entrance of negro slaves into Mexico from the

United States ; and until the millions of laborers who now inhabit Mexico are removed, that barrier will exist. Another insurmountable obstacle to the introduction of negro slavery into Mexico, is the fact that the negro affiliates with the common Mexican, who has the Indian's natural and unconquerable hatred of slavery, and there is no safety for negro slave property among or in the neighborhood of that people. Slaves have the sympathy of *all classes* of Mexicans, and they always afford the fugitive assistance and protection. The insecurity of slave property in Western Texas by reason of its contiguity to Mexico, has reduced slavery in that part of the state to a merely nominal affair.

For these, and other reasons of minor importance, it is clearly evident that slavery cannot be re-established in any portion of the territory now comprehended within the limits of the republic of Mexico ; and yet this great fact is not believed or understood at the North. Most of the Republican leaders with whom I have conversed on the subject, I regret to say refuse to tolerate any such fact. It certainly does not favor the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine.

The South comprehends this matter much better than the North. Southern senators are generally well posted. A conversation which I held with a leading senator from the South, in March last, was so particularly interesting that I made notes of it at the time. We were speaking of the Mexican treaty, and I remarked :

"The Republican senators seem disposed to take up the treaty with a pair of tongs, and view it at arm's length, suspiciously."

"Yes," replied the senator ; "they are endeavoring to find a cat under the meal-tub—but the treaty speaks for itself ; they ought to know what a treaty means, what its stipulations portend."

"But, senator, it is not strange that the Republicans should view the treaty with suspicion, since the most prominent feature in Mr. BUCHANAN's administration has been the acquisition of Mexican territory, which they all believe will lead to the extension of slavery in that direction."

"They need not be alarmed on that head," said the senator, "that may be Mr. BUCHANAN's policy; but it is not my policy, or the policy of other Southern statesmen. We understand the subject better, and Mexico is not the direction in which we ever expected to extend slavery. We will not give Mr. BUCHANAN power to acquire Mexican territory."

"Do you not believe, senator, that it is practicable to introduce slavery into Mexico?"

"No, sir; we know that we cannot carry our negroes into that country, nor can we make slaves of its millions of aborigines. The peon labor is adapted to the country; there is no prejudice against the negro in Mexico, consequently there is no profit or safety in slave property in that country."

"It is certainly new to me—and I believe to the Northern public—that yourself and others in the South have this understanding of the subject; nevertheless, it is precisely the light in which I have been brought to view the matter after ten years' observation and experience."

"It may be new to the Northern public," said the senator. "If slavery could have been carried into Mexico, we would have had the country long ago. We *did* have it once, and gave it up."

"You did not know what to do with the elephant, when you got him," I remarked.

"Precisely; we had our own man, Mr. POLK, for president; we had a majority in Congress, with Mr. CALHOUN on the lead. What did CALHOUN say at that time? '*Mexico is forbidden fruit.*' We voted against the appropriation for acquiring California because we believed it would come in as free territory, and know better than to get any more Mexican territory, out of which to make free states."

"I am more and more astonished at what you tell me. The North is certainly acting under the full conviction that in endeavoring to obtain Mexican territory, Mr. BUCHANAN is entirely influenced by the leading public men of the South. You give me to understand that the contrary is the fact."

"Certainly I do," replied the senator. "Mr. BUCHANAN, in his efforts to obtain Sonora, Chihuahua, &c., is acting wholly

under the California pressure. That interest goes for extending the limits, and creating the necessity for expending any amount of money in that quarter."

"It is natural," I remarked, "that California should desire to extend our Pacific coast limits; and this Mexican treaty, as I conceive, will open Arizona, which is now worthless, and, in fact, give to California the trade of Sonora, and all that region of country."

"I agree with you there perfectly," remarked the senator. "I go for the treaty on purely national grounds. The direct effect of the treaty is to extend Northern commerce and manufactures; and the indirect effect is to benefit the South by causing an increased demand for our productions. It is very strange that those Northern men cannot see it in its true light."

I was taken quite by surprise by these frank and intelligent remarks of this Southern senator. They came nearer to truth and statesmanship than any thing I had found in my intercourse with many of the distinguished political leaders in different parts of the country, but more especially in Washington.

Believing that, with the admission of Texas into the Union, slavery found its limit on this continent, and sealed its own doom within the Union by that act, I regard the "irrepressible conflict" declaration as untrue, uncalled for, and in the highest degree mischievous. It is true that a conflict has existed between free and slave labor in all parts of the world since man was commanded to earn his daily bread by the sweat of his brow. But this conflict has ceased to exist in Europe, as well as in some other parts of creation, and wherever it does not exist, the conflict may be termed a *repressed conflict*. Here, in the United States, the further extension of slavery is so hopeless, and the predominance of free territory is so rapidly increasing over slave territory, that whatever conflict exists between the two systems of labor, should be termed the *repressible conflict*. Surely, a man must be worse than an infidel, who will, in view of all the facts, deliberately come forward before the people of the United States, at this day, and tell them that an "*irrepressible conflict*" is going on in their midst, which must terminate in giving the entire do-

main to free labor or to slave labor; that the grain-fields in sight of Bunker Hill will be cultivated by slaves, or the cotton-fields of the South by freemen.

But this doctrine, so withering and searing to all sound belief in the progress of freedom; this gospel of uneasiness; this essence of the spirit of oppression, rapine, and murder—is called *statesmanship*, and its authors and teachers are held up as shining lights—honest and safe guides for the great American republic!

If the “irrepressible conflict” declaration had been applied to the struggle existing between the two great political parties of the country for *power and spoils*, the application would have been correct. Here is the true basis of the conflict that is raging. It is now in an irrepressible state, and the prospect is, that under different names and on various pretexts invented by our race of demagogues, it will thus continue until it has brought universal contempt upon our institutions, and severe disaster to the country. The sectional system of human slavery is dying out, but the principle in human nature upon which the contest for spoils is based, is indestructible. In relation to this matter, California presents to her sister states a curious and instructive feature. Filled up by free labor at the outset, as thoroughly and practically anti-slavery within her own limits as Massachusetts, the state of California sends to Congress, by overwhelming majorities, representatives and senators who vote with the slave power for the extension of slavery over territory now free. California, one of the youngest, freshest, and most vigorous free states in the Union, presents a strange spectacle to the world when she allows herself to be bound hand and foot, and used by the slave power in sustaining a system of labor which she will not tolerate within her own borders. Oregon and Washington Territory have been in the same position. The territory of New Mexico also maintains a peculiar attitude as regards this great question. That country is occupied by the original Mexican population. There are few whites, but among these are army and federal officers who manage affairs after their own fashion. Early in 1859 the legislature passed an act protecting slave

property and forbidding the emancipation of slaves within the limits of the territory. There are no slaves in the territory at the present time, except a few captive Indians, and here and there a negro owned by army officers; and every intelligent individual in that region knows that practical slavery never can be carried into New Mexico; and yet that territory legislates in favor of slavery and votes under its influence in Congress. Arizona, if organized under a territorial government, would doubtless follow her example. This extraordinary and seemingly anomalous state of affairs in these distant states and territories, is explained by the two words, **FEDERAL PATRONAGE**, dispensed, it is true, by the slave power. But this is no evidence of an "irrepressible conflict" between the systems of free and slave labor; on the contrary, it is irrefragable evidence that the contest is for power and spoils. Federal patronage holds territory that a Higher Power has decreed shall not be given over to slavery.

PUBLIC OPINION ON MEXICO.

The interest with which we have watched the progress of the present revolution in Mexico, and the fate of those relations which the American minister, Mr. McLANE, sought to establish with that country, has doubtless caused us to be particularly heedful of every expression of public opinion on these subjects. This watchful interest has caused us to view with astonishment, not unmixed with chagrin, the manner in which every sound argument, and every statement of facts in favor of the liberal cause in Mexico, has been opposed throughout those countries called Christian and enlightened, especially the United States. No sooner has any thing of this nature fallen upon the public eye, than perversions, false statements, or flat denials, have sprung up in all quarters; and for the time being, truth has been overcome by error. In evidence of this, we shall publish in the first series of the **MEXICAN PAPERS**, a collection of articles on our subject, selected from a mass of matter emanating from high and distinguished sources. The

quoted extracts and articles are chosen with reference to the sources and the localities from which they emanate; and we publish them as furnishing a fair exposition of public opinion, both in this country and Europe, relative to Mexico.

It is not proposed to review or answer this eclectic collection in detail. They are given in the first numbers of the *MEXICAN PAPERS*, in order to bring the subject squarely before the public at the outset; and only such reference will be made to their prominent points as is necessary for that purpose.

An article entitled "THE REVOLUTIONS AND DICTATORS OF SOUTH AMERICA," that appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Paris, May 15, 1860, is the first of our selection. Thirty pages of the French semi-monthly are occupied with matter appertaining to the Spanish-American countries, in which an attempt is made to set forth some of the ethnological peculiarities of the people, their religious and political characteristics, and to enlighten the public as to the causes of the long-continued and prevailing anarchy of those unhappy regions.

We publish that portion relating to Mexico:

[Translated from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for the *MEXICAN PAPERS*.]

"It is now half a century since the Spanish-American republics commenced their efforts to obtain independence, and for half a century the drama has continued. When will it terminate? This is the problem of the whole of South America; and to such a question the most instructive response is, a glance cast upon the recent agitations in all those countries scattered over the Spanish New World—Mexico, Central America, those states which heretofore formed Columbia, and which border on the Pacific, even to Peru and Chili—the republics, in fine, occupying in their quarrels the great fluvial basin of the *Rio de la Plata*.

"We will then, if you wish, take a view of the revolutions and dictators of South America.

"MEXICO has a good right to pre-eminence in the history of American anarchy. Since she became an independent state, she has passed through many singular vicissitudes. We find

her an empire in 1822 under Iturbide—an empire quite ephemeral—continuing less than one year. Since that period, the question has been, shall Mexico be a *federative* or a *unitarian* republic?* shall she be governed by the conservatives, or shall she pass under the sway of the radicals, who, by a *bizarre* euphony, are called *puros*?

“ The revolutions and the presidencies, the successive *plans* of regeneration which this question has brought forth, can scarcely be recounted. The difficulties which have for some time agitated Mexico, and which the civil war has thrown to the surface more prominent than ever, are not the immediate cause of the perpetual conflicts. These difficulties have their origin several years back in the revolution against the last dictator, General Santa Ana.

“ The prime mover in this revolution was General Alvarez, an old Indian, who has passed his life in the state of Guerrero, where he was raised under a sort of feudal sovereignty, and who dragged his bands of Indian *pintos*† even to the city of Mexico. The result of this movement was clearly the predominance of radical democracy. The evidence of the triumph of the revolution was the constitution of 1857, which re-established the democratic idea. Finally, a man of the moment, M. Comonfort, who at first, was nothing more than a lieutenant under General Alvarez, became president so soon as the old Indian Alvarez regained the state of Guerrero, with his bands of savages. Success more ephemeral than ever! Between the radicals who suspected him of moderate tendencies, and a conservative reaction which already appeared menacing, M. Comonfort despaired. This was in 1858. A military *pronunciamiento*, started in the first instance by the president, was soon after turned against him, overthrowing this powerless dictator in a day, and giving the power to a new chief, General Felix Zuloaga, who assumed the government, sustained by the army, and invested with the mission to carry out the *plan* called the “*plan of Tacubaya*,” destined, like all the others, to effect the

* La question est de savoir si le Mexique sera une république fédérative ou une république unitaire.

† Spotted Indians.

regeneration of Mexico. This was a success for the conservative party, which thus suddenly saw itself delivered from the domination of the *puros*. Unhappily, the democratic party, conquered in the city of Mexico, appeared in the provinces and raised the flag of the constitution of 1857. The vice-president of the republic, a little Indian named Benito Juarez, organized a *pseudo-legal* government in the name of the constitution; after having wandered from city to city, he finally established himself in Vera Cruz, which city the revolutionary party was fortunate enough to secure.

"We have thus two governments in Mexico. The one established in the city of Mexico has the army, the clergy and all the conservative interests. Though not a power of regular origin, it was, after all, master of the capital and the only power recognized by the foreign governments, the representatives of which immediately came forward and established diplomatic relations with it. The other government, an expression of the legal revolutionist who was conquered in the city of Mexico, is personified in M. Benito Juarez, master of Vera Cruz, the principal port of the republic. He laid his hands upon the custom-houses and possessed himself of a pecuniary resource which enabled him to live and wait. In default of an army, he found in the provinces, partisans who came forth to defend him—old governors, lawyers transformed into generals, chiefs of bands always ready to pillage and ravage the country under any flag. The cause called "constitutional" was at the same time supported in the north by a personage no less curious in these last years, Santiago Vidaurri, of Indian blood, opinionated and energetic, his head full of confused ideas and still more of ambition. M. Vidaurri has passed thirty years in opening the way to power; and he has reached power, being master of the provinces adjoining the United States, which provinces he has threatened more than once to detach from Mexico, and form a new republic, to be called "*Sierra Madre*." For the moment, he was the auxiliary of Juarez.

"The struggle was then inaugurated. The first necessity of the government, which held the city of Mexico, was evidently to break down the combination of resistances by which it was

surrounded, in order to pacify the republic, and to organize it after some mode a little more regular.

“ In the state of Jalisco, on the north, a division of the army, under the orders of two young and energetic officers, Osollo and Miramon, obtained some success. Osollo brought many Constitutional chiefs to capitulate, captured several cities, and was pursuing the campaign victoriously, when he suddenly fell in battle. This was a loss to the government of Mexico, for Osollo was an officer of capacity and resolution of whom they stood in great need. This loss was, however, repaired by the presence in the army of the north, of a man still quite young, equally vigorous, and who at the same time had taken an important part in the affairs of Mexico. This was the General Miguel Miramon, who, up to this time, had been the lieutenant of Osollo, and who now assumed the highest rank by the death of his superior. Miramon took the direction of the war with new energy. Gifted with a quick military intelligence, and full of confidence in himself, he evinced an indefatigable activity, beating the factions in all encounters, and elevating to ascendancy the conservative party, in such a manner as to turn, by degrees, all eyes upon the young general whom nothing could resist.

“ The victories of Miramon unfortunately produced no political result. While the army of the north was well conducted, and beat the Constitutionalists, the army of the east, commanded by Echeagaray, and directed against Vera Cruz, lost time in its powerless operations. The government of Mexico showed itself destitute of all spirit of initiation; it failed in expedients, and drew no profit from advantages obtained by the army of the north. General Zuloaga, the president, elevated to power in 1858, developed deplorable mediocrity as a statesman, and soon came to be regarded with universal disrespect and distrust. This resulted in a kind of equilibrium between the government in Mexico, in the name of which Miguel Miramon followed his successes so uselessly, and the government which continued to live in Vera Cruz, and emboldened by the ineffectual operations directed against it. All the advantages which appeared to favor the power of Zuloaga

the recognition by the *corps diplomatique*, and the successes of an able general, served in no degree to decide the question between the parties. This peculiar state of affairs brought fresh disasters upon Mexico. General Echeagaray, instead of turning his efforts against Vera Cruz, which he was charged to take, got up an insurrection against President Zuloaga, from whom he held his powers. Echeagaray made his movement at Ayotla, in publishing, according to custom, a new political *plan*. The 23d of December, 1858, General Robles Pezuela, commander of the garrison in Mexico, put forth in his turn a *plan*, which was nothing more than that of Ayotla, a little modified. Zuloaga had just time to find refuge with the British legation, when Robles became master of the capital and of the government. The intent of this *pronunciamento*, the offspring of universal disorder, was the fusion, or the reconciliation of the two contending parties. A committee was speedily nominated, consisting of General Mariana Salas, the lawyer Castañeda, and General Casanova. A meeting of one hundred and fifty notables took place a few days after, to elect a provisional president, until the permanent organization of the republic by a congress in which all parties should be represented. Two things remained to be known: the first, how M. Juarez would reply, in the name of the Constitutionals, to this offer of conciliation addressed to him; second, what would be the attitude of Miramon in view of the events about to take place. M. Juarez replied with disdain to the propositions transmitted to him. As for Miramon, he was far away, and at the hour even when this crisis flashed upon Mexico, he gained a decided victory over one of the Constitutional chiefs, Santos Degollado. One thing was, however, apparent. Upon the commander of the army of the north depended, in a great measure, the success of the movement in the city of Mexico. This crisis even augmented the importance of the young general, and his star was so completely in the ascendant, that when the *junta* assembled, on the 15th of January, 1859, to elect a provisional president, the majority united upon him. Miramon received fifty-two votes, and Robles forty-six. Miramon, who had now quitted the army, found himself elected—without his knowing

it—supreme chief of the republic, in place of Zuloaga, revolutionarily deposed. It is quite characteristic that, at the time of this election, no one knew even the opinions of Miramon relative to recent events.

“ It proved, however, that the commander in the north energetically condemned the military sedition that had overthrown Zuloaga. As a conservative, he refused to be associated in a movement which was nothing more than an impolitic advance made to the revolutionary party. As a military man, he was exasperated by the act which made no account of the blood shed by his soldiers. Miramon thus replied to the overture made to him by Robles in order to obtain his adhesion. It was also in the same disposition that he received at Guadalajara the notice of his election. Could he suffer himself to be purchased by the bribe offered to his ambition, and would he accept the benefit of a movement, the nature of which he condemned? None knew his designs. Perhaps he knew not himself what he would do. Drawing near to Mexico without too much haste, Miramon arrived at that city on the 21st of January, 1859, and all began to perceive that the young officer who had departed nearly unknown, returned in a few months the master. This was a new personage in the political history of the Mexican republic—a personage truly remarkable—who, at the age of twenty-six years had come to be something like dictator without any manifestation of eagerness and without any intrigue. It is not generally known that this man who has appeared on the stage within a year, and who now acts one of the principal parts in Mexican affairs, is of French origin. His family is of Béarn and belongs to the *noblesse*. They emigrated to Spain in the last century; the grandfather of Don Miguel Miramon went to Mexico as aid-de-camp to one of the viceroys; his father, M. Bernardo Miramon, married in the country and there remained, and he is now one of the oldest Mexican generals. The actual president, born of this mixture of French and Spanish blood, has been a student of the military college of Chapultepec. He commenced his career in fighting against the North Americans, but in 1858 he was only known as a young officer noted for his bravery. The cam-

paign, the direction of which fell to him on the death of Osollo, revealed the possession of the gift of command, extraordinary firmness, promptitude, decision and brilliant valor, united to a certain reserve in his acts and words. It is by these qualities that Miramon is able to inspire his soldiers with that entire confidence which they have in him, and which culminated in the support of the political world of Mexico. Thus, being master of the position, his arrival was awaited with lively anxiety. Miramon arrived in Mexico the 21st January, 1859, without escort, and avoiding all official demonstration, he goes directly to his father. He arrived in no very amicable mood, aware of his power and concealing nothing of his severe sentiments. He received every one with *hauteur*. Old General Salas volunteered to tell him that if he wished to restore Zuloaga he would receive no support. Miramon replied that he relied on his sword only. He at once ordered General Robles, an officer of the engineer corps, to prepare to accompany him on a campaign which he meditated against Vera Cruz. Old generals, and others, murmured greatly at the domineering manner of this youth of twenty-six years, this *muchacho* as they called him, for they were not accustomed to be treated thus. Nevertheless, they submitted to his authority. Without accepting the presidency which devolved upon him by the vote of the *junta*, Miramon caused himself to be named commander-in-chief of the Mexican army. Two days after he replaced Zuloaga in the presidency. The movement of Generals Robles and Echeagaray was entirely ignored. Zuloaga was then solemnly re-established January 24th, 1859.

" It was very clear, however, that his power was entirely overshadowed by the haughty protector who thus placed him at his feet. No one was deceived. Zuloaga alone had, perhaps, the simplicity to believe it all serious. To all Mexico, his situation was nothing more than an artifice, and in admitting even this restoration as an homage rendered to the semblance of legality, all felt that the supreme magistracy ought to devolve upon the one who was in reality *the* power. General Zuloaga, under the pressure of public opinion, was constrained to recognize this, and scarcely a week had passed ere he abdicated the

presidential chair by a decree in favor of Miramon. This time Miramon accepted the situation, and the 20th of February, 1859, he assumed supreme power and delivered an address in which he told some hard truths to all, even to his own party, and which the conservatives heard with astonishment. Henceforth, we can, perhaps, forgive errors in the new president arising from inexperience, and more than all, from the dreadful condition of the country.

“ The first thought of Miramon was to destroy the government of M. Juarez in the citadel of Vera Cruz. There lay, in his eyes, the knot of the question. After having formed a ministry and obtained funds by an extraordinary impost, the president departed from Mexico on the 16th of February and directed his forces against Vera Cruz. If Miramon had had nothing more than the enemy before him to conquer, he would doubtless have succeeded. But he was in one of those confused situations where all things are constantly changing. His operations, slow at first, were soon neutralized by a series of circumstances entirely beyond his control, and had the effect to hold him in check by multiplying the difficulties about him.

“ When Miramon was at the head of the army of the north, he beat the Constitutionals in every encounter, and brought about a semblance of pacification. In his absence, the Constitutionals recovered their activity, and reunited in the interior to the number of seven or eight thousand, under the orders of Don Santos Degollado, who held the title of minister of war. Degollado captured the city of Guanajuato, and marched upon Mexico. This army pillaged the country through which it passed, and arrived at Tacubaya March 21, 1859. Mexico was besieged, and rendered liable to assault daily. April 15th, the Constitutionals attacked the gate of *San Cosmo*, and, though repulsed, their threatening forces remained at Tacubaya. During this state of affairs, one of Miramon's most energetic officers, Leonardo Marquez, arrived with additional forces. These immediately followed up the Federals, and vigorously pursued them afar. At last Miramon himself arrived to the succor of the capital, being obliged to return for this purpose from his Vera Cruz expedition.

“An incident of another character now took place, calculated somewhat to modify the character of the contending parties, by giving a certain credit, a species of national authenticity, to the government of M. Juarez and his adherents. Up to this period, the government in the city of Mexico had the advantage of being the only one recognized by the foreign powers. The representative of the United States even, Mr. Forsyth, had remained accredited to Zuloaga. In the first part of 1859, however, it appeared that the cabinet at Washington was disposed to make a complete change in its policy with the Mexican republic. Mr. Forsyth was replaced by a new envoy, Mr. McLane, who immediately recognized M. Juarez. How can this evolution be explained? Thus: soon after the advent of Zuloaga, Mr. Forsyth thought to take advantage of the embarrassing circumstances attending a new government not firmly established, in order to obtain some new concession to the insatiable ambition of the American Union. He had proposed a treaty, guaranteeing to the United States a cession of territory, disguised under the form of a rectification of the northern frontier, the right of way in perpetuity across the isthmus of Tejuantepec—all in consideration of a pecuniary consideration to Mexico. The cabinet of Zuloaga refused decidedly to enter into such a negotiation, held out as an offering of succor, an act of generosity on the part of the United States. From this moment Mr. Forsyth manifested very little sympathy for the government of Mexico. He became angry, and, in fact, favored the conspirators, demanding, with imperious rigor, reclamation on the part of those American citizens whose interests were disturbed by the civil war. In short, there was a rupture. The troubles of the North Americans were serious, as were those of other foreigners. It was, however, a singular logic that held the government of Mexico responsible for the acts committed by its enemies, and then turned to the government of Vera Cruz, the defenders of which were those who committed the acts! This change of policy on the part of the United States evidently had a motive foreign to the reclamations of American citizens. It was desirable to obtain from M. Juarez that which Mr. Forsyth could not obtain from

General Zuloaga. The new envoy, Mr. McLane, arrived at Vera Cruz early in April, 1859. He was, it is said, furnished with instructions which authorized him to take the responsibility of deciding which of the two governments he would recognize. Scarcely had he been in Vera Cruz twenty-four hours before he resolved to recognize M. Juarez.

"Acknowledged by the United States; free for the moment from all threatened attack by the necessity which obliged Miramon to return to Mexico; aided at the same time by the bands called '*constitutionalists*' who maintained the war in the interior, M. Juarez found a respite, and he concluded to profit by it by renewing legislatively the war against the church opened by the last revolution. Civil marriage was instituted by decree, and a manifesto appeared announcing all sorts of reform, crowned by that of despoiling the clergy. This last measure was instituted in order to lure all those speculators who were to be enriched at any price, and in conformity with the new relations established between the North Americans and M. Juarez, that the ecclesiastical property should be a ready guarantee to offer to the United States in any negotiation that might be made. The cabinet of Mexico protested against the law confiscating the church property, as it had already protested against the acknowledgment of Juarez by the United States. In advance, it repudiated all sale of church property, the same as it declared null any treaty which should be made between the cabinet at Vera Cruz and the North Americans.

"This was a war of decrees, of laws, and of protests, added to that of arms, which continued to desolate the country. Naturally, the government of Mexico was entirely opposed to that of Vera Cruz. To the manifesto of Juarez, Miramon offered another manifesto, in which he exposed with acerbity the afflictions of his country. Unhappily, the young President had more intrepidity and capacity on the battle-field than experience in the management of public affairs. In the month of July, 1859, seduced by the fair projects of a young man, M. Carlos de la Peza, who represented that he possessed the secret of negotiating the finances of Mexico, Miramon made him

minister of finance. The scheme of M. Peza was cast aside when the inefficiency of his secret had been but too well demonstrated. These spasmodic movements appertained less to the governing qualities of Miramon than to the insurmountable difficulties of the situation. But the military forces of Mexico maintained their advantage. General Leonardo Marquez, at the head of the army of the north, maintained the ascendancy. Other chiefs, Woll and Vicario, obtained successes. Cobos beat the factionists at Teotitlan and captured Oajaca, the key of the states of Chiapas, Tabasco, and Tejuantepec. M. Santiago Vidaurri, who had sustained Juarez, pronounced against him in the month of September, or at least proclaimed himself neutral between the two parties. All this, however, brought no result, and on the 4th of November, 1859, Miramon suddenly departed for Queretaro nearly alone, and at the risk of being captured by the federals.

“Arrived at Queretaro, Miramon was apprised that the constitutionalists, headed by Degollado, Doblado, Blanco, Arteaga, and numbering some seven or eight thousand men, had united to attack Guanajuato. He speedily called together such forces as were at hand, procured artillery from Mexico, and marched upon the constitutional army. Before coming in contact, Miramon and Degollado had an interview, in which the latter proposed to acknowledge the former president if he would accept under the constitution of 1857, reserving to a Congress the power of making reforms. Miramon decidedly declined. Degollado, on the strength of superior numbers, assumed a menacing tone. Miramon evinced no emotion, but replied, ‘Very well, Don Santos, though I have but half your force, to-morrow morning I shall have the honor of conquering you.’ In effect, the next day, at the *Estancia de las Vacas*, Miramon dispersed the constitutional army, and this new success restored the *prestige*, which had been somewhat weakened by the political tergiversations which had taken place during his residence in the capital. Miramon’s activity and audacity always, happily, restored the confidence which had elevated him to supreme power.

“Battles in Mexico are rarely decisive, and this civil war, which has already continued two years, appears no nearer its

dénouement than ever,—the end always fleeing, yet always said to be approaching. Since the month of January, 1858, they have had eight battles of importance, twenty-four combats of second order, thirty-nine inferior engagements; in all, seventy-one actions, of which only sixteen have been gained by the constitutionalists. Furthermore, the civil war is nothing more than a pretext to commit all sorts of excesses and depredations. In reality, the party called federal, or '*constitutionaliste*,' as it is named in Mexico, is nothing more than a gathering of undisciplined bands ravaging the country. Each chief acts on his own account, and these chiefs are innumerable. The most distinguished for their misdeeds are Carabajal, Alatrística, Pueblita, Villalba, and Alvarez.

"In the month of May, 1859, the federals plundered the mint of Guanajuato of \$180,000. Of this, \$90,000 belonged to English citizens. One of the ministers of Juarez, M. Zamora, stated that this was nothing more than a temporary use of the funds of foreigners to meet the pressing need of the federal army. At Tepic, Coronado, a constitutional general, extorted from M. Alsop, British consul, the sum of \$11,000. At another point, Colonel Carretero captured a train of six hundred mules with their cargoes, belonging to the traders of Puebla. In the month of November, the federals, in their flight from Oajaca, took one hundred pounds of silver from a church. These barbarous chiefs of Mexican radicalism found a new method of raising means in the capture of padres and monks, whom they released for money. At Zacatecas they captured eight padres and released them for \$8,500. At San Luis the liberty of one cost \$10,000.

"The lives of foreigners are no more secure than their interests or the lives and interests of native-born citizens. One day during the siege of Mexico, some Germans of a truth, choosing well their day, projected an excursion to the Great Desert. They rested at night at the ranch of Cuaji-Malpa, intending to continue their course in the morning. They were quietly playing whist, when the doors were forced open and one of their number, Doctor Fuchs, fell, struck by a ball. All were robbed. The muleteers at this ranch engaged in transporting goods to

Toluca were of the same sort—all of them crying, '*Viva la federacion.*' It cannot be said that all the chiefs who fight for the government of Mexico are absolutely innocent of misdeeds of this kind. For instance, in the month of November, 1859, General Marquez robbed a convoy of silver at Guadalajara of \$600,000 to pay his army. It should be stated that Miramon, on being apprised of the fact, manifested the liveliest indignation. He immediately ordered the restitution of the silver, and deprived Marquez of the command of the army of the north.

"Such is the history of Mexico, of her revolutions, her civil war and anarchy. The respective situation of the two parties cannot be better defined than by one of the most recent episodes in the history. That which was readily foreseen in consequence of the new relations formed between the United States and the government called 'constitutional' of Vera Cruz, is realized. The North Americans never intended to recognize the government of Juarez without compensation, without hope of advantage; and Juarez on his part was driven *to seek aid from the United States*. Upon this, a negotiation was commenced soon after the arrival of Mr. McLane, which terminated in a treaty conceived upon a basis which Mr. Forsyth had ineffectually proposed to Mexico. This treaty is, in fact, a disguised cession of a portion of the Mexican territory, and a sort of high protectorate established for the benefit of the United States. Juarez expected, without doubt, to obtain power in the support which he had purchased of the North Americans. But he did not count upon the unpopularity with which the McLane treaty was received even by his own partisans, and that which he regarded as strength, an earnest or success, has become a cause of discredit and weakness. The United States, even, appear to hesitate in sustaining the entire action of their plenipotentiary, and now we find M. Juarez compromised and menaced more than ever. In fact, no sooner had M. Juarez signed the treaty with the American Union, than Miramon went into the country, got together new forces with which to operate more seriously and more decisively against Vera Cruz. It is not long since the United States came to the aid of M. Juarez, and without ceremony captured two

steamships destined to second the operations of Miramon. This damaged his operations, without, however, discouraging him. The true parties are, therefore, always in view, and the question is correctly stated if this account can obtain the semblance of truth in the midst of so much anarchy."

THE foregoing article from the *Revue des Deux Mondes* may be considered a fair exposition of public opinion in France relative to Mexico, and as such, we place it on the record. The writer of the article makes an egregious geographical error at the outset. He heads his article, "*The Revolutions and the Dictators of South America*," refers only to that division of the western continent in his opening remarks, and commences his flight of fancy in *Mexico*! There would be just as much propriety in placing California or Canada south of the Isthmus of Darien, as there is in drawing the line of that Isthmus north of Mexico. This error is of no great importance in itself, yet it shows what very erroneous conceptions are afloat in some of the higher order of European minds relative to the simplest matters of fact, even, regarding this continent. A few years since, there was brought out on the Parisian boards, a new French play, the scene of which was laid in America, and a cotton plantation formed the staple of the plot—said plantation being located near Boston, Massachusetts.

It is reasonable to infer that the entire article on Spanish America, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, was made up of material furnished by the French legations stationed in the respective Spanish American countries. That portion relating to Mexico, and which appears in the MEXICAN PAPERS, we are fully justified in stating, came from the French legation in the city of Mexico when in charge of M. GABRIAC, as we have seen the substance of the same in the Miramon government journals, and which, at the time, was attributed to the French minister. The knowledge of this fact is, of itself, sufficient to destroy all confidence in the truth or justice of the remarks contained in the French review, since the fact that M. GABRIAC took the part of a most unscrupulous partisan in

sustaining the fortunes of MIRAMON and the Mexican church,¹ has now become notorious.

The writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* states that the present difficulties in Mexico have their origin several years back in the revolution against the last dictator, SANTA ANNA, the prime mover in this revolution being General ALVAREZ. What profundity, what extraordinary political acumen in Mexican affairs do we find here! We venture to assert, that the present revolution in Mexico has its origin several hundred years back, when Spanish priests and soldiers enslaved the Mexican nation.

Our French reviewer adverts significantly to the Indian blood of ALVAREZ, JUAREZ, and other liberals, and then with a flourish of words, brings forth MIRAMON, the revolutionary president, as a choice extract, a splendid shoot from pure French and Castilian stock. This personage is first made prominent as the successor of OSOLLO, commander of the army of the north, who is stated to have fallen suddenly in battle. OSOLLO did not fall in battle, but he died in his bed, some say of fever, and it is a subject of remark in Mexico that his liberal tendencies gave the priests and their adherents lively concern, which concern was relieved by his death. In the account of the life of MIRAMON after he appeared prominent on the stage, the attempt is made to invent an analogy in the career of the Mexican guerrilla chief, and that of the elder NAPOLEON as general and first consul. MIRAMON, in his own country, is called by his countrymen in anger, *asesino*; and in ridicule, *Macabeo*. These appellations convey *multum in parvo*. MIRAMON is a Mexican of thoroughly mixed blood, his parentage not being known beyond his own country with any degree of distinctness. The statement relative to his military and civil acts is a thorough perversion of facts and pure invention from first to last, and the attempt to display MIRAMON before the world as a man of high courage, generous impulses, and transcendent abilities, either in military or civil affairs, must have tortured the brain of his eulogist beyond endurance.

Another effort of the French reviewer ought not to pass unnoticed. It is wherein he endeavors to stigmatize the

liberal party of Mexico as made up of unprincipled hordes, ravaging and laying waste the country, under innumerable chiefs, of which the most distinguished for their misdeeds are CARABAJAL, ALATRISTE, VILLALBA, and ALVAREZ. The liberals are charged with plundering the mint at Guanajuato in May, 1859, of \$180,000 belonging to English citizens. CORONADO, a constitutional general, is represented to have extorted \$11,000 from the British consul at Tepic, etc.

It is acknowledged that the federal chiefs do not commit all the robberies, since General MARQUEZ, commander of the church army in the north, did, in November, 1859, abstract from a convoy of silver at Guadalajara, *en route* for the Pacific, the modest sum of \$600,000 to pay his army, which act on the part of his general, raised the virtuous indignation of MIRAMON, who ordered the restitution of the silver and deprived MARQUEZ of his command.

It cannot be denied that, heretofore, Mexican warfare has been characterized by infamous acts of rapine and plunder. The present revolution has been pre-eminently distinguished for wholesale massacres, and the extent to which gigantic schemes of robbery and devastation have been carried. But the French writer is entirely mistaken when he charges these acts upon the liberal or constitutional party.

It is true that petty brigand chiefs, taking advantage of the anarchical state of the country, have arisen and committed depredations in various quarters, sometimes in the name of one party and sometimes in the name of another, but more frequently on their own responsibility, and neither party can be considered directly responsible for their acts. The truth lies in this: *the system of murder, rapine, and plunder, under which Mexico has suffered since the present revolution commenced, is but the system of the priests and their adherents, which war has invariably developed to a barbarous degree.* Call to mind the forced loans commenced in the city of Mexico three years ago by ZULOAGA, "*por una sola vez*," and followed up, times innumerable, by MIRAMON, MARQUEZ, WOLL, ROBLES, NEGRETE, COBOS, MEJIA, and a host of merciless guerilla chiefs in the reactionary forces, who have laid every city

and town in the republic of any note, under forced contributions; and any other country, less rich than Mexico, would, under this system of plunder, have given up the ghost financially long ago. Recount the almost innumerable butcheries perpetrated by MIRAMON and his partisans, not omitting that of Tacubaya in 1859, and the wanton destruction of life at the siege of Vera Cruz, April, 1860. From advices just received, we learn that General ROBLES is laying waste the country about Tlacolulan and killing the defenceless Indians; and as for COBOS, MARQUEZ, and MEJIA, they are coarse, bloody murderers and robbers of the worst degree, and any cause that tolerates such monsters must be iniquitous.

To charge this barbarous system of warfare upon the liberals is, therefore, a reckless and heinous misrepresentation of the facts. If the liberal party has erred at all, it has erred on the side of mercy. Its responsible chiefs, such as JUAREZ, DEGOLLADO, OCAMPO, URAGA, ALVAREZ, ZARAGOZA, ORTEGA, and others, have never imposed forced loans on the people, or been guilty of a single act of plunder as the means of sustaining their cause. The liberals did take \$180,000 from the mint of Guanajuato. This money was put into bags of \$1,000 each, and the bags delivered to 180 men belonging to the liberal army, with orders to scatter and rendezvous with the cash on a certain hill in the neighborhood. Every one of the 180 men was faithful to his trust. The commanding officer of the liberal forces who took the responsibility of seizing this silver, gave the owners thereof drafts on the constitutional government at Vera Cruz. Though distressed for means, that government promptly paid those drafts. Surely, a party that pursues such a course as this, is determined to sustain itself on strictly honorable principles. How this prompt and satisfactory statement of the Guanajuato mint affair contrasts with the innumerable and unsettled acts of outrageous plunder by the opposing faction! Among these is that of ROBLES at *Puente Nacional*, where those interested in the *conducta* of specie were glad to submit to the robbery of \$30,000 in order to save the balance. Also, the robbery of the *conducta* at Guadalajara by MARQUEZ, the facts respecting which robbery are misrepresented

by the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. This *conducta*, consisting of about \$1,500,000, was *en route* for San Blas, for shipment to Europe. MARQUEZ took possession of the entire *conducta*, and at first it appeared as though the whole of it would be plundered. Then \$600,000 was considered sufficient, but finally, after abstracting \$200,000, the balance was suffered to proceed on its journey. MIRAMON, on hearing of this robbery, started post-haste from the capital for the headquarters of MARQUEZ. MIRAMON had been suspicious and jealous of MARQUEZ for several months, the latter having evinced a disposition to *pronounce* for himself. Fearing that the possession of such an amount of money would give MARQUEZ too much power, and being largely interested personally, it is said, in the specie bound for Europe, MIRAMON lost no time in pouncing down upon his would-be rival in robbery. MARQUEZ was inveigled to the city of Mexico, trapped, and cast into prison, where he now lies, a prisoner of state, with his ambitious schemes nipped in the bud. The church army squandered the \$200,000. No restitution of the money was ordered, and not one dollar has been or ever will be restored. It is by such simple explanations as these, that the monstrous network of fabrication, woven by the plunderers of Mexico around their evil doings, may be destroyed. One more instance, and we leave this part of the subject for the present. General CORONADO is said to have extorted \$10,000 from the British consul at Tepic. We cannot explain this matter better than to quote from a letter dated Mazatlan, May 31, and which appears in the *New Orleans Picayune*, July 4, 1860.

“For a long time the English have been smuggling the coin of Mexico out of the country, and the consuls of the different seaports have been acting as agents in this contraband trade. San Blas was one of the chief depots of export while it was in the hands of the church party, and the consul there had been engaged in several heavy ‘runs.’ When, however, the partisans of Miramon had to give way to the stronger force of the liberals, the latter attempted to put a stop to this smuggling by implicating the English consul and threatening to take summary measures against him, which, however, passed unheeded, that gentleman well knowing that he was backed by a strong fleet, which would at a moment’s warning resent any insult offered to the English flag or the person of its representative.

"Several times had the steamer *Alert* shown herself around San Blas, meaning thereby to force the liberals into silent acquiescence to the conduct of their consul. Nothing daunted, however, the liberals kept vigilant watch, and at a recent 'run,' *the consul was caught in the act, and imprisoned until he would pay the duties on his two last adventures*—those duties amounted to the snug little sum of \$10,000, which he had to pay before he was released from 'durance vile.' The steamers *Alert* and *Amethyst* were then at Mazatlan, and when the news of the imprisonment of the English consul reached the captains of the above vessels, *they blockaded this port, and threatened a bombardment if the citizens of Mazatlan did not, within a specified time, make up the \$10,000, which the captain of the Alert asserted had been illegally pressed from the English consul at San Blas.* All representations that San Blas and Mazatlan were under different provincial governments were useless, and the money had to be forthcoming.

"Not satisfied with this unheard of extortion, the *Alert* and *Amethyst* steamed down to San Blas, blockaded that port, and after a stout resistance on the part of the liberals, landed a garrison under Capt. Grenvelt, of the *Amethyst*, and *declared the province under English martial law.* The opposition party, taking advantage of this covert assistance of the English, were regaining some advantages, and the liberals, to get rid of one of their tormentors, at least, were obliged to yield to any demands that the English consul might make for damages. The exact amount I could not learn, but that it was not a trifling sum you may be assured. The siege was raised on Monday, May 28th, the *Alert* coming up here, and the *Amethyst* remaining at San Blas.

"The English version of the story differs somewhat from the above, but not materially; they acknowledge the facts, assigning, however, slightly different causes."

We can endorse the truth of the foregoing statement, and add that a dark tale of crime and oppression is connected with the history of smuggling in Mexico, particularly under English auspices on the Pacific coast.

There is much in the temper and tone of the article in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, especially wherein it refers to the supposed pre-determination of the United States to absorb Mexico, that reminds one of a sensation pamphlet which appeared in Paris more than a year since, entitled "*The Latin Race.*" It is much to be regretted that the editor of the *Revue* should be induced, by national predilections and the prejudice of race, to prostitute the columns of his respectable and influential periodical to so ignoble a purpose as that of disseminating a document, the distinguishing feature of

which is, a total disregard and disdain of the principal facts relating to the great question upon which it treats. It is no agreeable task to enter upon the foregoing strong and, unqualified denial of the French writer's statements. But it is only in this summary manner that we can deal with the brazen impudence, the bigotry, and the deep-seated lust for power and gold, that is causing to be sent forth broadcast throughout both hemispheres, wretched tirades against liberty and decency in Mexico.

The following table gives the population, area in square miles, and density of population per square mile, of those countries on this continent upon which the *Revue des Deux Mondes* treats:—

Countries.	Population.	Area square miles	Density of Population per square mile.
† Mexico.....	8,283,088	766,482	10.8
* Guatemala.....	971,450	43,380	22.4
* San Salvador.....	394,000	9,600	41.0
* Honduras.....	358,000	39,600	9.5
* Nicaragua.....	257,000	40,200	6.3
* Costa Rica.....	215,000	21,800	9.8
* Granadian confederation.....	2,363,054	521,948	4.5
* Venezuela.....	1,361,386	426,712	3.1
* Ecuador.....	1,108,042	206,692	5.3
* Peru.....	2,106,492	498,726	4.2
* Bolivia.....	2,326,126	473,298	4.9
* Chili.....	1,558,319	249,952	6.2
* Argentine Republic.....	1,459,355	1,126,265	1.2
* Uruguay.....	177,300	73,538	2.4
* Paraguay.....	600,000	86,102	6.9
* Brazil.....	7,677,800	2,973,406	2.5
Total.....	31,216,412	7,557,701	

Countries.	Year.	Imports.	Average per Capita.	Exports.	Average per Capita.	Total Foreign Commerce.	Average per Capita.
Mexico.....	1856	\$26,000,000	\$3.14	\$28,000,000	\$3.83	\$54,000,000	\$6.52
Guatemala.....	1858	1,223,770	1.25	1,924,509	1.93	3,148,279	3.23
San Salvador.....	1859	1,246,720	8.16	1,555,485	4.02	2,802,205	7.18
Honduras.....	1855	967,239	2.61	745,901	2.06	1,653,190	4.69
Nicaragua.....	1855	972,851	3.78	858,372	8.73	1,831,423	7.51
Costa Rica.....	1858	1,267,387	5.89	1,351,179	6.28	2,619,166	12.17
Granadian Confederation.....	1856	3,256,543	1.87	7,064,584	2.93	10,320,427	4.86
Venezuela.....	1856	5,597,129	4.11	6,686,104	4.87	12,283,233	8.99
Ecuador.....	1856	2,626,706	2.87	2,723,141	2.45	5,349,847	4.82
Peru.....	1853	9,087,894	4.81	16,880,377	8.01	25,968,271	12.82
Bolivia.....	1853	1,859,585	.58	1,422,716	.61	2,782,301	1.19
Chili.....	1857	19,804,041	12.70	20,126,461	12.91	39,930,502	25.62
Argentine Republic.....	1855	11,894,000	7.80	15,260,986	10.45	26,654,986	18.36
Uruguay.....	1856	4,556,817	25.86	10,803,553	58.11	14,890,170	83.98
Paraguay.....	1856	610,865	1.1	1,006,059	1.67	1,616,924	2.68
Brazil.....	1857	63,808,365	8.96	63,618,005	8.28	132,421,870	17.24
Total Foreign Commerce of the Spanish American Colonies.....						\$388,352,794	

* From Journal of American Geographical and Statistical Society.

† From Garcia y Cuba's Statistical Maps, Ministry of Fomento, Mexico.

The preceding table gives an exhibit of the imports, exports, total foreign commerce, and average per capita of the same countries.

Annexed is a recapitulation of the foregoing, including Cuba and other West India Islands; to which are added, the United States and Canada:—

Countries.	Imports.	Average per Capita.	Exports.	Average per Capita.	Total Foreign Commerce.	Average per Capita.
Mexico.....	\$26,000,000	\$3.14	\$28,000,000	\$3.34	\$54,000,000	\$6.52
Cuba	39,560,299	27.29	46,792,055	32.23	86,352,354	59.57
Other West India Islands ...	41,813,262	16.74	37,188,283	14.89	79,001,545	31.63
Central America.....	5,648,017	2.57	6,566,246	2.99	12,214,263	5.56
South America	127,181,245	6.18	145,037,286	6.99	272,168,531	13.12
Total Spanish America....	240,152,823	6.62	268,583,870	7.49	508,736,693	14.31
United States.....	282,613,150	9.26	324,644,421	10.64	607,257,571	19.90
Canada.....	49,288,245	19.16	31,813,120	12.37	81,101,265	31.53

Countries.	Population.	Area square miles.	Density of Population per square mile.
Mexico.....	8,283,088	766,482	10.8
Cuba	1,449,462	47,278	30.7
Other West India Islands	2,497,164	49,015	50.9
Central America.....	2,195,450	154,580	14.2
South America	20,737,874	6,636,639	3.1
Total Spanish America....	35,163,028	7,653,994	4.5
United States	30,500,000	2,990,000	10.2
Canada.....	2,571,437	357,822	7.2

From the preceding tables, we learn that the countries on this continent, known as Spanish America, have an area of 7,557,701 square miles, with a population of 31,216,412, whose total foreign commerce amounts to \$358,382,794. Include the West India Islands, and we have a total area of 7,653,994 square miles, a population of 35,163,028, and a foreign commerce of \$503,736,693. These are the vast regions with their tens of millions of people and their hundreds of millions of trade, whose destinies, as we view the subject, the *Revue* is endeavoring to influence in a manner calculated to bring still greater misery and more wide-spread ruin than even now exists among those nations whose most dire evils are, in reality, legacies from that very Latin race which is now extolled as the only element of good in their midst.

We hold that public opinion on Mexico is wrong, and that foreign governments are following out an unjust, mistaken policy toward that country. We deem it of the highest

importance that the American people should lose no time in becoming fully acquainted with the merits of this great question. It should be raised at once from the obscurity into which our politicians have cast it, and assigned that prominent place in our national politics which its overshadowing importance demands. It is true that the policy applicable to Mexico may not be entirely applicable to the other Spanish American countries. Each one of these countries has its peculiarities, and each may require some variation in the mode of treatment. But if public opinion is wrong as regards Mexico, public opinion, in the main, is wrong as regards the whole of Spanish America; and if the United States, claiming to be a free and enlightened republic, and as such, assuming to control the destinies of this continent, stands in a false unjust position toward Mexico, she stands in a false, unjust position toward the whole of Spanish America.

Those broad and fruitful countries, though groaning and languishing under despotic, ill-regulated governments, contain, even now, a population of 35,163,028, and sustain a foreign commerce of \$503,736,693. What may not those countries become with tranquillity, and under the civilizing influences of commerce and industry, introduced by a powerful, free, and enlightened *republic*? It requires no extravagant imagination to see those vast regions now so sparsely inhabited, filled up with hundreds of millions of people, and to count a commerce and trade of thousands of millions of dollars!

Such a field for enterprise as Spanish America now offers to the United States has never been seen since the world began. It is in Mexico that its occupation must commence, and first of all, the fate of Mexico must be settled. Even now, her destinies are trembling in the balance. We have reliable advices that Señor PACHECO, the new Spanish minister to Mexico, is beginning to show his hand under the stipulations of the Almonte treaty, made by Spain with the Miramon government. The last Spaniard that ever lives, will die believing the Mexican people were created to be his slaves. It is not difficult to divine, therefore, what Señor PACHECO's course will be. It is also published, on authority from LOUIS NAPOLEON

direct, that he is about to interfere in Mexican affairs. So long as there was any hope for the church party, and whilst treaty negotiations were pending between the United States and Mexico, the European Powers, in their efforts to thwart the United States and sustain the church party, confined themselves to the exertions of their accredited ministers in Mexico. But now that the American Congress has refused to have any thing to do with that country, and the final triumph of the liberals, even without the aid of the United States and against all opposition, appears absolutely certain, a direct and unequivocal armed intervention by France and Spain, and perhaps England, is announced.

What does this foreign intervention mean, just as victory appears to be within the grasp of the liberals? It means that Spain, whether acting in conjunction with any other power or not, is as fully determined as ever to have a despotic tenure in Mexico of some sort, if she cannot hold the entire country in her hands; and it means that France is influenced by the money power in Mexico which has hitherto sustained the church party, and which is broken, utterly ruined, and lost, the day on which the liberals obtain possession of the city of Mexico. M. GABRIAC, formerly French minister in Mexico, is now in Paris. He is supposed to represent not less than \$50,000,000 arising out of transactions with the Zuloaga and Miramon governments on the part of himself, JECKER, TORRE, and others. These bankers and capitalists, and their immediate connections in Mexico, have all failed, and their assets are mostly the church faction securities, which no legitimate government of the country can have the least shadow of authority for paying. Intervention on the part of France and Spain (and perhaps England) at the present moment means, therefore, nothing more or less than a check to the liberals which will force them to make a compromise with bigotry and despotism that contemplates the fulfilment of stipulations, disastrous to Mexico, contained in the Almonte treaty, and the payment of those enormous and iniquitous obligations created by the church party. This foreign intervention means mischief. If the liberals of Mexico listen to any scheme of com-

promise with their enemies, they are lost; and if we permit either or all of the European powers to interfere in the affairs of Mexico on any pretext whatsoever, we are no better than besotted boasters, and have no right to rank among nations as a Power on Earth.

PERSONAL

For some years past, the most prominent feature in our policy with Mexico has been to acquire her territory. If Mr. BUCHANAN had one clear and distinct idea in his own mind relative to Mexico, when he despatched Mr. McLANE thither, it was, doubtless, that of acquiring a portion of her domain. It is now generally conceded that the minister to Mexico had no definite instructions except on this point—a sort of general memorandum having been given to him to go and do the best he could; recognize the government that appeared the most likely to win, despotic or liberal, church or anti-church; and to negotiate a treaty with whatever government he might recognize, that should embrace in its provisions a cession of certain Mexican territory to the United States, for a pecuniary consideration. My own convictions, based on personal experience, had fortified me against such an *unprincipled* policy as this—a policy that has proved fatal to all those interests which the two countries hold in common.

It appears that when Mr. McLANE was despatched to Mexico, the administration at Washington had less comprehension of that country than it had of almost any remote portion of Asia that could be named. It would seem that our highest officials had neither the time nor the knowledge requisite to draw out a schedule of instructions, embodying a decided, practical, statesmanlike policy for the new minister to follow in Mexico. It is reasonable to believe, therefore, that when the news of Mr. McLANE's prompt and unqualified recognition of the constitutional government, and the liberal party of Mexico, reached Washington, none were more astonished than Mr. BUCHANAN and his cabinet.

This momentous official act was no sooner accomplished under the circumstances heretofore stated, than the high negotiating parties commenced framing a treaty such as the common interests of both countries seemed to require. The negotia-

tions were conducted with that circumspection usual on such occasions, and nothing relative to these, while pending, was known outside the official circle. There was one point in the matter, however, as well understood in the streets of Vera Cruz as in the cabinet of President BUCHANAN, or that of President JUAREZ. This point was, that the acquisition policy of the American president would make itself apparent first and foremost; and I believe it is a fact now well understood, that Mr. McLANE, acting under instructions, was obliged to present a demand for the cession of a portion of Mexican territory to the United States, for a pecuniary consideration, at the very outset of his efforts to frame a treaty with the constitutional government!

The feeling of the Mexican people, relative to the sale of any portion of their country, is not understood in the United States. It is a mistake to suppose that any section of the republic favors such a transaction, or is indifferent on the subject. The contrary is the fact. No people have a stronger love of country, or more extravagant notions, I may say, of what is due to its honor and dignity, than the Mexicans. No *party* in the country will listen to a proposition for the purchase of territory. It is only certain thoroughly venal and unpatriotic individuals who, when they attain power and see the way clear to pocket the proceeds, will sell the national domain. Fast "manifest destiny" men, and crazy speculators, have done much to mislead our government and people on this point. The Mexican war was conceived in erroneous notions relative to the sentiments and the capacities of the Mexican people, especially those of the northern states. It is a well-known fact that President POLK and his cabinet supposed the mere presence of General TAYLOR with his troops on the Rio Grande would be sufficient to prevent hostilities. It is now a matter of history, how this movement of General TAYLOR's provoked the very issue it was intended to overawe. Even after hostilities had commenced, President POLK was led to believe that the northern tier of Mexican states were desirous of separating from the federation, and joining the American Union; and it would only be necessary for a few regiments of American soldiers to

appear among them and countenance the project, when the people *en masse* would throw up their hats, and huzza for annexation and the American confederacy. On this erroneous belief, DONIPHAN, with his regiment, was ordered to march through New Mexico into Chihuahua. General KEARNEY was sent to California to co-operate with Commodores STOCKTON and SLOAT, while General TAYLOR appeared in Tamaulipas and Coahuila. That magnificent extent of country did not, however, like ripe fruit, fall to the United States, a bloodless and cheap acquisition, in conformity with the expectation and desire of the administration at Washington. The Mexicans, from one end of the country to the other, were united as one man against the invaders, and step by step the war went on, until, to save our national honor, we were obliged to conquer a peace by capturing the capital of the republic, and vanquishing the nation.

Up to this time, nothing had occurred to bring out the opinion of southern statesmen on the practicability of propagating negro slavery in Mexican territory beyond the Rio Grande and the Rocky Mountains. There appears to have been a vague idea that it could not be done. WEBSTER and CALHOUN, doubtless, had clearer and more correct views on the subject than any statesmen then living. But whatever may have been the opinions of leading southern statesmen who influenced the administration of President POLK, the glory of a splendid acquisition of Mexican territory, certainly, on the inception of the plan, obscured their vision as to its results on their favorite institution of slavery. But when those parties found themselves in possession of the whole of Mexico, then, and not till then, did the question of the possibility of propagating negro slavery in that country enter the councils of southern statesmen as a matter that must be immediately acted upon. Southern instinct as usual when the interest of the peculiar institution is concerned, was prompt and correct in its decision, on this occasion. The leading men of the south agreed that negro slavery could not be carried into Mexican territory, and the country was returned to the original owners, except New Mexico and California, which were retained for a consideration,

notwithstanding the misgivings of the entire south, and the open opposition of a few of her leading men.

Thus we see the Mexican war originated in a series of blunders which resulted in an unexpected, unwished-for conquest; which conquest was finally abandoned, because the controlling party knew that it could not be made available for the extension of human slavery, and the minority party honestly believed, or affected to believe, directly to the contrary. Now, the "irrepressible conflict" apostles—who have gained immensely in political power since that period, and whose final success depends entirely on the unhealthy excitement created by their gospel of uneasiness—are keeping alive and using the theory that the institution of slavery can and will be carried into Mexico!

Our Mexican policy, based on a thorough ignorance of Mexico and the Mexicans, continues up to the present day. It has been fatal to our relations with that country, and it always will be fatal, in diplomacy, to approach any Mexican government holding power by the will of the people, with a proposition to purchase national territory. Besides the profound conviction of this fact, there are other weighty reasons which sustain my opposition to our Mexican policy of territorial acquisition.

My experience in Arizona had convinced me that in the acquisition of that domain known as the "*Gadsden Purchase*," we but added to the territory of New Mexico a wild region of country, (and without the port of Guaymas) very difficult to get into, and much more difficult to get out of—a dreary district which, in fact, has proved to us nothing more or less than a trap, in which bands of wild and murdering Indians catch emigrants and settlers, with their horses, cattle, and other property. This forlorn purchase of territory also gave the United States government the opportunity to increase its patronage, by extending its worse than useless Army and Indian Agency system, and adding several millions to the amount squandered yearly by the War Department, under pretence of protecting the frontiers. The acquisition of the states of Sonora, Chihuahua, and part of Coajuela, would bring all that remains of the

wild Indian country south of us, within the limits of the United States, and this new acquisition would equal, in area, New Mexico and Arizona. The former territory has been in the possession of the United States twelve years, and the latter, six years. These two territories have been under the protection of the War Department, and practically, under the management of the United States military and Indian agents stationed therein. When we look back and contemplate the horrid butcheries that have taken place, the great loss of human life, the immense waste of property, and the enormous expenditure of national funds within those territories, we hang our heads with commiseration and shame. And when we reflect that those regions are, if any thing, in a worse condition this day than they were when the United States took possession, we may well call in question the propriety of acquiring other territories of the same character, to be given up to a system of management which proves an absolute hindrance to every thing like civilization and progress.

The expenditures of the War Department are now nearly \$30,000,000 per annum—almost half the entire revenue of this government—and at the present rate of increase, the amount will reach \$60,000,000 in 1865! And yet, in view of these startling facts, our legislating politicians are rushing blindly, madly on to increase this branch of federal patronage, and all this is done under the plea of retrenchment and economy.

It will be remembered that President BUCHANAN, in his annual message, 1858, recommended the forcible and military occupation of the Mexican States of Sonora and Chihuahua. The chairman of the House Committee of Foreign Affairs addressed the Secretary of War on the subject. The following is his reply. We give it as one of the brightest scintillations of genius that has flashed from the War Department since it came into existence.

“WAR DEPARTMENT, Dec. 27, 1858.

SIR:—In reply to your communication of the 14th inst., I have the honor to state that in my judgment the armed possession of posts in Chihuahua and Sonora, according to the policy recommended by the President, would add nothing to the *present necessity* for an increase of the army.

"The line of defence from the frontier of Texas to the Pacific coast would be materially shortened, and might be so chosen as most essentially to diminish the cost of transportation for the supplies of a very large portion of our forces employed upon our southern border. Very respectfully,

"Your obedient servant,

"JOHN B. FLOYD, Sec. of War.

"The Hon. JOHN C. FAULKNER, Chairman

"Committee on Military Affairs,

"House of Representatives."

The War Department at Washington is the last place a sensible business man of frontier experience would go for information, upon which to base any project, either military or civil. TRUTH, replying from the frontier to the inquiry of the House Committee on Military Affairs, would have stated something like the following:

"The states of Chihuahua and Sonora nearly complete the area of country south of us, in which the wild Indians claim and exercise the right to ravage. The United States, through its military posts and Indian agencies, has not been able to check these savages in that portion of this extensive domain already acquired. 'Armed possession' of New Mexico has rested as a blight upon the land for twelve years; and 'armed possession' of Arizona for six years, has rendered that territory a by-word among the hybrids south of us, and a stench in the nostrils of our own people. A line of military posts from San Antonio, Texas, to Guaymas, Sonora, so thickly placed that the tap of the drum could be heard from one to the other, would not control the savages. And, moreover, the people of Sonora and Chihuahua shudder at the idea of American garrisons being placed in their midst to create rows, riots, and assassinations without number, and arouse more bad blood and fierce passions than could be allayed in half a century. The additional expense to the War Department, consequent upon an armed occupation of Sonora and Chihuahua, under our present system, and with the addition of disaffected Mexicans, would be not less than \$10,000,000 per annum."

It may appear that the foregoing is a digression from the main subject, but it is not so. Our southern frontier interests are inextricably interwoven with the Mexican question in more

ways than one. The same views I now express on this point, were set forth by me in a series of letters on Sonora and Arizona, that appeared in the *New York Times*, the latter part of 1858.

The most important consideration in my own mind, however, against the policy of territorial acquisition at the present time, has been, the excited condition of the public mind on the question of slavery, and the fact that new territory only adds fuel to the flame. It is true, I have expressed my unqualified belief that the United States, north or south, separate or together, cannot carry negro slavery into Mexico; yet I am well aware that the Mexican states on our southern border, either in or out of the American Union, *can*, in the present unhappy condition of our political affairs, be used by the South as an element, or the means of incalculable mischief to the North, and to the Union. The cry of "disunion" means something, or it means nothing. It is foolish for any one to give it out simply as a prophecy, that this Union will, or will not be destroyed. This Union may be as firm as the hills, indissoluble; or we may see it in fragments within a twelve-month. It cannot be denied that at this time, there is a lurking dread, an undefinable feeling of uncertainty gaining strength in men's minds, respecting the future of our country. No one believes that a separation of these United States can take place in a peaceful, regular manner. If parted at all, they must be rent asunder. How do matters stand now? The North hates the South most cordially, and the South reciprocates this feeling most heartily. This hatred amounts to fanaticism on both sides—that of the North being by far the most dangerous, as it is the most extensive and powerful, and has a religious tinge. This hatred between the parties is based on the most deadly and the worst passions of which our nature is capable, and thus the two sections of the country stand arrayed against each other—the powerful North on the aggressive—the South defiant, yet alarmed, awaiting the onslaught. *This is all unnatural.* It is the work of politicians who have intensified the struggle and made the issue. There is an apathy among the masses now, but the political leaders are astride

their political hobbies, and, under full hue and cry, are dashing on with whip and spur. Suppose the republican riders in the North continue astride the "irrepressible conflict"—absolutely the most fanatical and unprincipled political hobby of the day—and drive on furiously and successfully to the election of a republican president. It is highly probable that Mr. LINCOLN now desires to say to all men what he no doubt honestly feels at this moment; "Just let me get into the presidency and see how conservative I will be." If Mr. LINCOLN is raised to the presidency, can he *command* conservatism? It is by the power of fanaticism of the worst species only, that he can be elevated. Through him, power based on fanaticism reaches its culmen, and once in power, has this element ever been known to turn back and be consumed in its own fires? The "irrepressible conflict" gospel means irrepressible hatred, and if this element once obtains control of the government of this country, it is, on sound principles of logic and analogy, reasonable to believe that it will not cease to rage, until it has desolated those regions toward which its fury has been so long directed.

In this view of a republican success, it cannot be otherwise than that the South—her pride wounded beyond endurance, her independence gone, and her people panic-stricken—will lose all calmness and reason, and give free rein to wild and overt acts. In that section of our country, self-preservation will be the first motive for action, and the cry of "disunion" will mean patriotism. What are now the vaporings of a BICKLY, K. G. C., may become a reality. The filibuster element once roused and directed, the South can invade Mexico, conquer and hold a part or the whole of that republic. What could the United States government do in such an emergency? It has not the power to move one step or lift a finger to avert this stupendous work of national ruin. As matters now stand between the political parties in the United States, and in the absence of all treaty-stipulations with Mexico, by which the respective Executives of both nations are empowered to maintain the territory of each inviolate, *the south, if so disposed, can render the election of a republican president a nullity, or completely break up a republican administration.*

These were my views on this subject, when I found myself in Mexico, in 1859, and heard prominent parties in the cities of Mexico and Vera Cruz discussing the stipulations of a treaty between the United States and Mexico.

The constitutional government and the liberal party of Mexico having been recognized by the United States government, the way was opened for the inauguration of a new policy between the two countries. The constitutional government was in a condition and desirous to offer to the United States advantages that no government in Mexico had ever been able to offer before. It appeared as though the time had arrived for the negotiation of a treaty which should guarantee to the Mexican nation, as well as to foreign residents, *civil and religious liberty*; break down and remove those ancient obstacles and hindrances to trade and commerce, and secure the sovereignty of the Mexican nation and the integrity of her territory as they now stand, under a constitution and laws which conform, as near as possible, to our own. Some may say that this, virtually, amounts to a protectorate. Perhaps it does. If so, it is a *moral* protectorate, more powerful and enduring than an *armed* protectorate.

Since the days of AARON BURR, the idea of filibustering Mexico has taken the shape of a suggestive devil in the brain of every one who has dreamed of projects to destroy the Union. For this reason, as well as others of moment, it would seem of paramount importance that the present boundary line between the two republics should be so fixed that filibusterism, or all the powers of disunion, slavery, and fanaticism, could never break over, remove, or destroy it.

I have already mentioned that the sentiment of the Mexican people is strongly opposed to slavery. In accordance with this sentiment, slavery was formally abolished by the Mexican congress in 1829, and in accordance with this sentiment, the second article of the present constitution of Mexico runs thus :

“ARTICLE 11. All are born free in the republic. Slaves that set foot upon national territory recover by that single act their liberty, and have the right to the protection of the laws.”

What a pity it is that our own constitution could not have contained precisely such an article as this!

The constitution that contains the above article, is the constitution of the government in Mexico recognized by the United States, and any treaty between the two governments that guarantees each, the one to the other, the inviolability of the present boundary line between them, and the sovereignty of the weaker power, sets at rest forever the question of the extension of slavery on our southern border. A treaty between the United States and Mexico which contained this most important stipulation, would, there is every reason to believe, have a decided effect in causing European powers to look with favor upon the extension of American influence and American institutions throughout Mexico, if any thing of this kind is possible. But it is quite doubtful whether those nations who have large pecuniary claims on Mexico, especially England, would look with much complacency upon the sale of Mexican territory to the United States, or such a loose condition of affairs on the boundaries as would permit any partial or general dismemberment of the Mexican confederacy, under the auspices of the slave power.

A pure commercial treaty between the United States and Mexico, one that should be clear and unequivocal in its guarantees as to the sovereignty and integrity of the Mexican republic, and which opened the latter country to foreign emigration and the enjoyment of a reasonable degree of freedom in trade and commerce, is, then, under all the circumstances, what the legitimate interests of all parties and all nations, certainly those who advocate the *free soil* doctrine, appear to require at this time.

A treaty of this character between the United States and Mexico would completely hem in the South, by opening up a slavery-hating country on her southern border, to a slavery-hating, enterprising, progressive emigration from free soil countries on both continents. Then the South would awake to the danger and the enormity of the evil she is cherishing. Then the South within herself would, first, from prudential motives, and then on the score of economy, begin to inquire,

"How shall we get rid of slavery?" A practical and peaceful settlement of the great and dangerous question will only come when the southern states, state by state, or together, take the initiatory in eradicating the festering sore from the body politic. Any attempt on the part of the North to coerce the South in this matter, would surely result in the destruction of our confederacy. But by a wise recognition and skilful management of moral agencies, on the same principle that science submits to the laws that regulate the material elements, in order to control those elements, the southern people may be brought to yield gracefully and peacefully to the inexorable and irresistible laws of progress, simply because the *forces* bearing upon them are above and beyond their control, or their right to call in question.

A treaty with Mexico, of the character set forth in the foregoing, as I construe it, was laid before the Senate of the United States, during its last session. I believe this treaty was calculated to open a splendid field of enterprise for our northern commercial and industrial interests, now so pent up by adverse political influences; to end our dangerous sectional differences, and sweep from view forever our low order of politicians, who, like *fungi*, have risen from the dark and sickly depths of negro politics. Is it strange, therefore, that these politicians killed the Mexican treaty?

THE MITLA LETTERS.

THE proprietors of the *New York Times* have kindly permitted me to publish the letters I addressed to that journal during my sojourn in Mexico, in 1859. Such of these letters, therefore, as relate to events then transpiring, my personal observations, travels, etc., will appear in the MEXICAN PAPERS, as a part of my "Personal Reminiscences."

"ANAJUAC MYTHOLOGY—TRADITION RESPECTING THE GOD QUATZALCOATL.

"VERA CRUZ, *April 5, 1859.*

"On the 20th April, 1519, three hundred and forty years ago, less fifteen days, Cortez, with his fleet, arrived off the island or shoal named by Grijalva, San Juan de Uloa. The Spanish adventurer anchored in the roadstead, between the island and the main land, and the next day, landed his forces on the low, flat sand beach, where the city of Vera Cruz now stands.

"Immediately, hordes of wondering, simple-minded natives, came over the dingy sand hills, a short distance in the rear of the encampment, to see the mysterious strangers, brought by 'water houses with white wings' from unknown regions beyond the sea. With what fearful interest these swarthy sons of nature must have regarded the sudden appearance of those beings from over the world of waters, who came more as gods than as men! Swift-footed messengers speedily bore the news to Montezuma. This proud monarch of the Aztec Empire, seated on his throne in the mountains, and in the plenitude of his power, received the news with fear and trembling. The popular tradition respecting a prominent deity in Anahuac mythology, called Quatzalcoatl, forced itself upon his mind. The tradition was that this deity, the god of air, represented, unlike their other Indian deities, as benevolent, having a white skin and flowing beard, had, in ages past, been expelled by the more ferocious gods, and embarked on the Atlantic sea, in a wizard skiff, for the fabled land of Tlopalan, promising to return at some future day with his posterity, resume possession of the Empire, and fulfil his mission of benevolence.

"The hieroglyphic, or 'picture-writing' account of the strangers taken to Montezuma, represented them as having fair skins and flowing beards; riding furious monsters with four legs, and holding the thunder and lightning of heaven in their hands. The Aztec monarch wavered, trembled, consulted his wise men, and then, in the pride of his heart, but weakness of his soul, sent to the Spanish commander rich presents, consisting of loads of cotton cloths, beautifully embroidered with silver and gold; feather work of the richest colors and

most delicate designs; pearls and precious stones, gold dust, and gold and silver plates on which highly ingenious devices were cunningly engraved. With these presents came a polite message from the giver, requesting his visitors to accept them as tokens of his friendship, and return to the country from whence they came.

"Montezuma, by thus exposing his wealth and his weakness, invited his fate. Had he forwarded to Cortez a few hundred pounds of *maize* and *frijoles*, some *Chili colorado* and a sack of *pulque*, it is not probable that the tremendous energies, unfailing resources, and heroic daring which soon subdued the Aztec empire, would then and there have been created in the soul of the *Conquistador*. After examining all Montezuma's presents, and hearing his messages, Cortez remarked, '*the Spaniards are troubled with a disease of the heart, for which gold is a specific remedy*,' intimating, at the same time, that they had come a long way to obtain the remedy, and could not return without it. This remark of Cortez, though facetiously made, contained one of the most solemn truths ever uttered. This 'disease of the heart' fired the Spaniards' courage, roused their energies, kindled their fanaticism, drew them to conquest, through conquest to oppression, through oppression to weakness and vice; and now that particular disease of the Spanish heart is finding its cure in dust and ashes.

"The benevolent deity Quatzalcoatl had presided over the destinies of the Toltecs four centuries, when the greater portion of this people disappeared as mysteriously as they came, making way for the fiercer Aztecs. The rude and warlike nature of this latter race was softened somewhat by coming in contact with the remaining Toltecs, who had lived under a mild religion and an advanced state of civilization. The Aztecs increased rapidly in numbers and power, banished the benevolent deity Quatzalcoatl, and, as time rolled on, delivered themselves up more and more to the influence of their war gods. Then the Spaniards appeared, conquered, and planted the Cross on the pagan altars of the natives. But the Spaniards did not prove to be the descendants of the benevolent deity that had been banished so many centuries. It is true, the

pagan altars were cast down, and what is called the Christian Cross was reared upon their ruins. In the name of this emblem of a higher order of religion, through a period of three centuries, millions were sacrificed on the unholy altars of the Spaniards' lust, and the Mexican nation lost immensely by the change. At last, their descendants, the modern race, weary of their abject state, rose and cast off the hated foreign yoke. But the Mexican nation fought the shadow, not the substance. That old, corrupt, bigoted, and despotic church remained, and its rule became more ferocious and tyrannical than ever.

"Three hundred and forty years have elapsed since the commencement of these great events in Mexican history, so fraught with strange and melancholy interest.

"There is a fine field for the play of the imagination, in taking up the Anajuac tradition of the god Quatzalcoatl and following it to the end. At this moment, we find the shifting nature of human events has placed at the head of Mexican affairs, one of the original race, who, twelve centuries ago, acknowledged that deity as supreme; one of the few who have maintained their purity of race. Even as I write, this representative of the mysterious people that have been so fearfully scourged, is treating for recognition and support from the emissary of the white and bearded northern race, who acknowledge the supremacy of a benevolent deity, and who say their mission is peace. Are the bloody Mexican deities about to be expelled? Is Quatzalcoatl coming to resume possession of his empire—to restore peace and prosperity?

"MITLA."

THE RECOGNITION.

"VERA CRUZ, *Wednesday April 6, 1859.*

"THE deed is done. Mr. McLane, Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary from the United States, has recognized Benito Juarez and his government as the government *de jure* and *de facto* of Mexico.

"The ceremony of recognition and presenting credentials was characterized by an *impromptu* demonstration unusual on such occasions. This ceremony took place at 1 o'clock to-day. A body of the regular army escorted President Juarez, with his principal civil officers, to the Municipal Palace, situated on the Plaza. The American Minister, attended by his secretary, H. Le Roy Reintree, Esq., and C. Le Doux Elgee, *attaché*, with a suite composed of R. B. J. Twyman, U. S. Consul; Capt. Jarvis, of the Savannah; Capt. Farragut, of the Brooklyn; Col. Johnson, U. S. Army; Edward E. Dunbar, New York; Jasper Whiting, of Sonora; and Messrs. La Sere and Perry, of New Orleans, proceeded from the minister's quarters to one of the long and beautiful rooms of the palace, where the Mexican President and his officials were in waiting. The American minister made a brief address to the President, who also briefly and happily replied.

"Amid the firing of cannon, ringing of bells, and joyous shouts of the populace, the ceremony was concluded.

"That the people and government of the United States will accord to their minister wisdom, decision, and firmness in this most important act, and that he will be fully sustained by his countrymen and government, there can scarcely be a doubt. The important consequences to both republics that must follow this friendly union on the common ground of constitutional freedom, cannot, at the present time, be estimated. The most cordial relations are now established between the United States and the masses of Mexico. Liberal commercial treaties will be made, friendly and profitable intercourse between the two republics will be opened, and private and national filibustering must then cease.

MEXICAN CORRESPONDENCE—ITS CHARACTER AND EFFECT.

MUCH of the indifference, and we may say aversion, felt in this community toward Mexican affairs generally, are, doubtless, owing to the peculiar character of the correspondence from Mexico, that appears in the public journals. Nearly all the Mexican correspondence with this country is concentrated in the journals of New York and New Orleans. All the prominent journals in New York, we believe, have endeavored to obtain regular and reliable correspondence in Mexico, but the *Times* and *Herald* are the only ones that have met with any degree of success. From personal knowledge, we can testify to the high appreciation in which the former journal holds this matter, and to its earnest and energetic efforts to obtain the most thorough and reliable information respecting events transpiring, and the real condition of affairs in the neighboring republic.

The journals of New Orleans have better facilities for obtaining Mexican correspondence, from the propinquity of that city to the Mexican country. But at best, it is difficult to obtain a good Mexican correspondence at this time, from the fact that good resident correspondents are very scarce, and no journal feels inclined to dispatch a special correspondent to Mexico and maintain him there, simply to write up the Mexican news.

Our journals are, then, to a certain extent, dependent on chance and transient correspondents of the *volunteer* order, who, too frequently, are political, filibustering, speculating adventurers. Such as these are always but too happy to inundate prominent journals with their correspondence, because they believe that through this means, they will be able to influence public opinion one way or the other, according as their interests may dictate.

Since the commencement of the present Mexican revolution, now nearly three years, there has been from that country a systematic correspondence, denouncing all parties in Mexico, and advocating the immediate seizure of the entire country by

the United States, and the establishment of order by means of a standing American army. This correspondence is doubtless honest, but most people in this country know the plan to be impracticable and absurd.

Then we have the filibusters. They rove along the Mexican frontier, and between New Orleans and Vera Cruz. Their correspondence has been quite prominent. These gentlemen sometimes favor one party and sometimes another; but, more frequently, they deride both parties, and evidently see no peace and prosperity in the future for poor distracted Mexico, until a few thousand Americans, with revolvers, rifles, and bowie-knives, are admitted into the country. A happy time, generally, might then be expected.

Parties interested in some enormous and outrageous speculation, occasionally appear in print, and it would not be very natural to look for much disinterested or consistent correspondence from this source.

The partizans of General COMONFORT are also at work, and not unfrequently it is carefully whispered to the press, that an "under current" is silently and surely working in favor of the return of the ex-President.

These kind of agencies, and others of minor importance, have been at work in the *general* correspondence from Mexico during the past three years; and such a mass of confused and conflicting statements has been thrown upon the public during this period, that the principles involved in the Mexican revolution, the main facts, and the real issue, have been almost entirely lost sight of. Carefully prepared, truthful, and intelligent communications from Mexico, by *reliable* and regular correspondents, have stood no more chance in this community than the most common trash ever penned. But it is to be hoped that the fog which has enveloped the Mexican question is clearing away, and that, as the issue narrows down to a closing point, public journalists, at least, will take up the matter with more satisfaction and better effect.

PUBLIC OPINION ON MEXICO.

IN the first number of the MEXICAN PAPERS we published an article from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, as an example of the erroneous public opinion that prevails in regard to Mexico. We now give another example of the same character, taken from the *London Saturday Review* of May 26th, 1860, and entitled

SPANISH AMERICAN REPUBLICS.

“The Spanish American republics have now for thirty years been the opprobrium of Liberty, and the friends of free institutions have grieved over them too long not to be glad of any explanation which does away with the necessity of dwelling on their wild pell-mell of revolutions, constitutions, civil wars, and dictatorships. Such an explanation is furnished by an interesting paper in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. The point of it is that the disturbances of Mexico and of South America proceed nearly exclusively from the Indian element in those countries. Englishmen have been dimly conscious that the so-called Spanish Americans are a mongrel race, but they have probably had very inadequate ideas of the extent to which the Spanish blood has been diluted, and it is certainly a fact known to few, that almost every revolutionary leader is a pure Indian. We are curiously misled by the Spanish-sounding names of these Mexican and South American worthies. Many of us have the impression that Juarez, Vidauri, and Degollado are as actual Spanish gentlemen as Sartorius, Narvaez, and O'Donnell. Yet the truth is, that the three persons named, who are all Mexicans, generals, and constitutionalists, are neither more nor less than full-blooded Indians, and are therefore much nearer relations of the Ojibbeways who were exhibited in London a few seasons ago than of any hidalgo in Spain. It need not be said that this circumstance entirely destroys the importance of the Spanish American revolutions as precedents or illustrations. The King of Siam, ac-

cording to Sir John Bowring, is a very intelligent sovereign, and the establishment of a Nepaulese republic at Katmandoo would be a very singular event, but nobody would dream of basing any political lesson on the intellect of the Siamese monarch, or on the democratic institutions of Nepaul. Consciously or unconsciously, we regard no changes of government as political phenomena having interest for ourselves, except such as occur among races which were reared in the religion and civilization of Western Europe. A revolution or civil war in Spanish America is, at most, curious. The only feeling stronger than curiosity which it should excite, is pity for the minority of Europeans, or semi-Europeans, which remains in most of these countries, and is oppressed or massacred at pleasure by masters who, though they speak Spanish and call themselves Christians, are, in reality, savages set loose.

"The difference between a European and an Indian leader, is well illustrated by the history of the rival Presidents of the Mexican Republic. Juarez, the so-called constitutional President, who was lately besieged in Vera Cruz, is, as has been stated, an Indian of unmixed blood. Miramon, who has been styled the President of the church party, is, on the contrary, a Frenchman by the father's side, and a Spaniard by the mother's—in other words, a European, descended from two of the finest races in Europe. Of the merits of the contest in which these two leaders are engaged, we shall only say that it has been grossly misapprehended in the United States and in England. It turns on the confiscation of church property; and this circumstance has caused some degree of mild favor to be extended here and in America to Juarez, who is the champion of the anti-clerical faction. But it is the most foolish of mistakes to institute a comparison between the pillage of the Roman Catholic church in Mexico, and the curtailment of its excessive endowments in such a country as Sardinia. The Mexican clergy are certainly indolent and ignorant, according to European standards; but with all their defects, they alone prevent the Mexican people from relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life. The Haytien negro, when the destruction of the whites relieved him from the control of his priests,

went straight back to his Obi, which he scarcely deigns to overlay with a thin varnish of Christianity; and the Mexican, whether Indian or mongrel, can scarcely even now be kept, by all the vigilance of his spiritual pastor, from throwing himself into sorcery and fetish worship. The cause of the Roman Catholic church in Mexico is, therefore, for once, the cause of civilization; and, if the truth were known, it would probably be found that Juarez, who is panegyriized by the American papers as the liberal and enlightened antagonist of spiritual despotism, is simply the foe of the priests because he prefers some private enchantment of his own to the celebration of the mass. It is not, however, in their views of clerical influence that Miramon and Juarez are most advantageously contrasted. The writer in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* mentions several incidents in Miramon's career, which are curiously characteristic of the European as distinguished from the Indian. He was originally called to the presidency while engaged in a campaign at a distance from the capital. A *pronunciamento* had been successfully accomplished in the city of Mexico, and the revolutionists thought to strengthen themselves by placing at their head a young and victorious general. Miramon, immediately on his return to Mexico, disavowed the entire revolution and refused to accept the distinction proffered to him. This unheard of disinterestedness naturally caused him to be looked upon as a very different sort of conservative from any hitherto known in that country, and is the foundation of all his political influence. Other actions of his, mentioned in the *Revue*, are his immediate restoration of large sums of money seized by his lieutenants, and his repeated refusals to shed more blood than could be helped. The virtues thus indicated would not be extraordinarily remarkable in Europe, and it is evident that in Mexico they might have proceeded quite as much from calculation as from character; but the thing to be noted is, that these actions of Miramon's are just those which no man of Indian breed is capable of practicing. No politician of the native race ever yet sacrificed the opportunity of elevating himself to station, or gave back money which he could spend, or spared an enemy whom it was safe to kill. Juarez sold his

country to the Americans without a pang; but civilized men have done this before him, and the fatal symptom about him is not his treason, but his inability to forego an immediate for an ultimate advantage, or to disappoint for one day his savage instincts of cupidity and revenge.

“In all Central and South America there are only two countries—Brazil and Chili—which are not governed by absolute dictators under the form of a republic. With hardly one exception, these dictators are pure Indians, or mulattoes in whom the Indian and negro are mixed, or men with some Spanish blood in their veins, who, like the early Norman settlers in Ireland, have contracted a taste for savage life, and have abjured the habits of civilization. Of this last class there are some curious samples in South America—such as Urquiza in the Argentine Confederation, Castilla in Peru, and the Monagas family, who, though now displaced, all but succeeded in founding a dynasty in Venezuela. All these dictators have one peculiarity in common. Though they have all commenced their reign by expelling the legislature of their country at the point of the bayonet, they invariably belong to the constitutionalists, or liberal party. This party has its newspapers and its pamphlets, on looking into which the reader sees the maxims of extreme French socialistic democracy enforced in stately Castilian. Is there, then, a leaven of socialism in Spanish America? Not a bit of it. It is all sham and a pretence, like the Christianity, the civilization, and the European tongue. The true contest is between *Unitarianism* and *Federalism*, a dispute which in form involves the question whether the State shall be governed from its capital or shall be split into nearly independent provinces, but which in reality resolves itself into a struggle between the European and the Indian—the man of culture and the savage. All the enlightenment and education of Spanish America is confined to the older cities, the seats of Spanish dominion under the monarchy. If the Unitarians prevail, it is the comparatively civilized capital which governs the wild men of the provinces. If the Federalists have their way, the savage of the open country rules the civilized man of the city. As a fact, the controversy has universally ended in

religion that does not offend good manners. We have seen several established *churches* in several different countries, and regard them all, if not slightly rotten, somewhat behind the steam-engine, the electric telegraph, the clipper-ship, the cotton gin, the sewing-machine, Colt's revolvers, Sharpe's rifles, *et cetera*, in the great race of civilization and progress.

But to return to our subject. In contradiction of the assertion of the *London Saturday Review*, that "for once the cause of the Roman Catholic church in Mexico is the cause of civilization," we will oppose one of the "MITLA" letters, bearing date, City of Mexico, July 1, 1859 :

"The 23d of June is the feast day of *Corpus Christi*, the greatest of all days in the city of Mexico. That just passed was celebrated here with the usual ceremonious pomp.

"The calendar of the Mexican church sets down the day as follows :

" ' June 23—Thursday.—Duty of vigil and fasting: The solemnity of the most holy body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Saint Zenon and Saint Zenas, his slave. Calenda in the cathedral. For eight days his Divine Majesty will be exhibited in nearly all the churches. In the cathedral and the collegiate churches there will be full indulgence during the eight days. A solemn procession, with the assistance of the Supreme Government, will start from the cathedral in the morning. In La Concepcion these eight days will be celebrated with much solemnity, and there will be sermons during this period. At night this festivity will be celebrated in the holy schools. Solemn vespers and matins in San Juan de la Penitencia.'

"The order of performance on this day is as follows :

" ' Nine salutes of twenty-one guns each will be fired by the Palace Artillery, placed in the grand plaza. The first salute will be fired at dawn ; the second at the commencement of mass in the Holy Cathedral Church ; the third at the elevation of the Host ; the fourth on the conclusion of Mass ; the fifth when the most Holy Host comes out of the cathedral in the procession ; the sixth when His Divine Majesty passes the National Theatre ; the seventh when His Divine Majesty enters the Holy Cathedral Church ; the eighth at noon ; and ninth at the going down of the sun. The chief of battery will have his telegraphs arranged, so as to give the salutes at the right time.

" ' At 6 o'clock in the morning there shall be a general beating of drums,

and for this purpose, all the bands of music of all the bodies which are to form shall, before that hour, congregate in the Palace courts, that the general outburst of music may commence when the cornet of the Central Guard of the Palace gives the signal that the hour has arrived ; and these bands shall then proceed by the shortest road to the respective quarters.

“ ‘ The music of the artillery of the line shall congregate in the Military Colleges of San Pedro and San Pablo at 7 in the morning, to march with the military scholars, who will come to escort the Most Excellent Señor, the President, to the Cathedral, where the said scholars shall fire three times, in the following order : first, at the commencement of Mass ; second, at the elevation of the Host ; third, at the conclusion of Mass. The military scholars shall then proceed to the door of the Cathedral on the Empedradillo side, to march behind the Most Excellent Señor, the President, in the procession.

“ ‘ The Municipal body, in all its force, shall be at the Palace of Chapultepec at 8 in the morning, to escort the Most Excellent Señor, the President, thence to the Palace in the city, and after His Excellency has arrived there, the Municipal body shall take the position given it in the street Santo Domingo.

“ ‘ At precisely 8 o'clock the battalion of Grenadiers of the Guard will form at the door of the principal saloon of the Palace, and proceed to the main entrance of the Cathedral.

“ ‘ At 9 o'clock, the battalion of Sappers of the Second Light Permanent Battalion will form, covering the First from the door of the Convent of Santa Clara to the Church of the Professa, and the Second from this point to the door of the Cathedral. At the same hour, the artillery will form in the Empedradillo, with its front on Montepio. The regiment of Mexican Lancers will form at the same hour, on the street of the Escalerillas, resting its right on the corner of the first street, Santo Domingo.

“ ‘ The municipal body will form at the same hour in the first street of Santo Domingo, resting its right on the corner of Tacuba-street. Following this body, the ambulances, with their respective dotation, will take position.

“ ‘ The mounted squadron of the municipal body will, in anticipation of all, take its position on the corner of Tacuba-street, to open the march of the procession.

“ ‘ The national flag shall be raised on all the public buildings from daylight until the going down of the sun.’

“The ringing of bells is so general as not to be included in the wretched programme, of which the above forms about one-half ; but it includes most of the arrangements, and enables one to comprehend what a singular exhibition feast-days afford, of cannon firing, music, civil and military parades, and heathenish forms and ceremonies. These exhibitions in this country are

of a lower order than can be found on the continent of Europe. An eye-witness of these performances can form an accurate conception of how completely this old pagan church has been interwoven with the entire fabric of Mexican institutions and society, and comprehend why it is that Mexico is called a disgrace to civilization and to free institutions.

“After witnessing the ceremony of mass in the cathedral, I took my station just outside of the main entrance, to note the people as they came out, and the forming of the solemn procession. First appeared a body of the native Indians of the country, bearing tawdry banners with strange devices, candles, and lanterns. These Indians are pure representatives of the original races. Their language is the same as in the days of the Aztecs; their habits and manners of living are worse. They continue to eat tortillas and chili, and drink pulque; and they bear burdens like beasts. Their countenances exhibit but a slight degree of intelligence. Their features are disagreeable, they have no symmetry of form, are scantily dressed, and both men and women are filthy in personal appearance generally. They can neither read nor write—have no knowledge of the computation of time, numbers, or distances, not even the knowledge contained in that huge Aztec calendar of stone that rests against the side of the cathedral. They are idolators in the strictest sense of the word, having lost all comprehension of their ancient theology, which really did contain some good and elevating notions and ideas, which we call Christian; and they are now left without aspirations or ability to understand the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, or, in fact, any thing of the kind, above that which takes the material form of picture, image, tree, bush, rock, beast, or bird. They have lost that general intelligence and knowledge of certain arts and sciences which they possessed at the time of the conquest, and are immeasurably lower in the scale of humanity than at that period. Year by year, they turn out legions of syphilitic and leprous beggars, to swell the millions of witnesses against the Mexican church. This is the native Indian of the present day in the pagan district of Mexico. It is true, he does not sacrifice his fellow man on the altars of his gods, but he has

been sacrificed and pressed into the work of butchery and robbery, by which a thousand victims have fallen on the altars of human lusts, to one on those of the Aztec gods. This is the fruit of three centuries of Spanish rule, and nearly half a century of the Mexican church despotism alone.

“Following the body of Indians with banners, etc., at the head of this solemn procession comes a band of music. Next is General de la Vega, the one taken prisoner by May at Cerro Gordo, and now Governor of the District of Mexico, attended by sundry of the civil authorities. The general is by no means a bad looking man. He has become somewhat portly and quite gray. He is neither very popular nor unpopular with either party; lives comfortably as a man can during these times, and takes matters generally very easy. Next in the procession we have what is called the “Supreme Government” of the Republic of Mexico, composed of Miramon and his Cabinet, and attended by a company of military officials, dressed in very rich uniforms. Miramon, who marches between Bonilla and Munez Ledo, appears to be about twenty-eight or thirty years of age, five feet eight inches high, and of slender, genteel figure, which is well set off by his fine uniform. He has beautiful brown hair, wears a moustache and goatee *à la Napoleon*, and his complexion is not dark, but slightly muddy. His eyebrows are finely pencilled, and there is a bad, sinister expression about his eyes and mouth. Miramon may be called a handsome man, but his countenance, head, and entire bearing, give no evidence of commanding intellect or traits of character, such as we look for in a superior general or statesman. Miramon is nothing of the kind. He is bad at heart, and inferior in intellect and education. He owes his present position and fame, simply to the scarcity of any thing above the rank of mediocrity in Mexico in these days, and to the other fact that the clergy seized upon him as a pliant tool. Behind Miramon, his cabinet and suite, we have, according to the programme, quite a respectable looking body of cadets, or military scholars. The military and civic bodies of the City of Mexico, now passing in review before us, are of the same order of heathen as the Indians who headed the procession. The former

excel the latter only in dress and capacity for deviltry. We will, therefore, allow them to pass, and come to the pith—the cream of the republic—or the hub, the pivot, the axis, if you please, on which the wisdom of man and the glory and mercy of God, in Mexico, are supposed to revolve. I mean the ecclesiastics, that holy body of men who go about with shaved heads, and wear woollen gowns and huge hats. Those representatives of His Divine Majesty, who, looking over their broad domain, count millions of human beings sacrificed in the name of the cross; herds of diseased, deformed beggars, and a decaying population; languishing hospitals, ruined towns, cities, and roads; no literature, no press worthy the name, no education, no standard of virtue, private or public, no telegraphs, no railroads, no improvements, no commerce, no trade; and while civil war rages and blood flows on every side, they count their millions in gold and silver, and bid the hellish work go on.

“In this procession we have a large number of the ecclesiastics of the City of Mexico before us. These are Friars of the Dominican, Franciscan, Augustin, Carmelite, and Mercederian orders. There are Jesuits, padres, bishops, and last of all, that old head pagan, the Archbishop. The eye can take in at a glance, say, one hundred of these pagan officials. Fowler & Wells' fingers would fairly revel in delight to pass over the shaved pates and expose the frightful propensities of this beastly crew. The portraits of these one hundred Mexican ecclesiastics upon which my eye now rests, hung up in Washington, would be sufficient to solve the Mexican problem in the United States. Worse shaped heads, or more disgusting, repulsive countenances and persons than those exhibited by the priesthood in the pagan districts of Mexico, cannot be found in the most degraded nation on earth. Most of them have thick necks and heavy joles. Some wear an expression nearly idiotic, and the balance have a gross, sensual, beastly look. They are learned in their pagan lore, and cunning in the gratification of their licentious and avaricious propensities. Beyond this their wisdom does not extend. Here you have the priesthood of Mexico, the bane and curse of the country, and yet claiming Jesus Christ as the founder of their religion. If Jesus Christ

should now make his appearance on earth, and attempt to enter the pagan district *via* Vera Cruz, preaching and practising his original doctrines, if he got further than Perote, this same priesthood would crucify him before he had been in Puebla twenty-four hours.

“ But the procession moves on, and the priests have passed. The Archbishop, an aged, fat man, tottering on the borders of the grave, brings up the rear, carrying the Host, and supported by two bishops. The large plaza and surrounding streets are filled by a motley, miscellaneous crowd, numbering several thousands. The general ringing of bells and firing of cannon have ceased. The solemn tolling of the huge, deep toned cathedral bell is alone heard as the Host appears in view of the multitude. Immediately every head is uncovered, and the vast multitude is seen kneeling. For a moment I was awed by the scene, which was really solemn, and the hinges of my knees were pregnant with the intent of kneeling, in conformity with the custom. Then the enormity of the humbug flashed through my mind, and my knees became staunch and firm again. During this momentary conflict of feeling, the Host passed by, and the crowd around me began to rise. I felt relieved that I had not kneeled with the pagans, and in so doing had attracted no notice. Not many years ago a Christian could not have thus exposed himself on this spot without incurring insult and injury. In 1824, shortly before the adoption of the Federal Constitution, an American shoemaker, living on the plaza, was kneeling over a chair in the door of his shop, during the performance of this same ceremony. An official of some sort happening to pass by, ordered the shoemaker to go down on his knees on the floor. The American replied that he was doing all that was required, whereupon the official drew a sword from under his cloak, and ran the man through the body, killing him instantly. The murderer walked away, and never was arrested. Mr. Wilcox was then United States Consul. He could obtain no permission to bury the body in any proper place about the city, but finally, in connection with Mr. Woodbury, and Mr. Black, now United States Consul in Mexico, he made arrangements for burial at Tacubaya. The procession

started from the plaza in three carriages, followed by a yelling mob of leperos. Before they had proceeded far, the carriage containing Messrs. Wilcox and Woodbury broke down, upon which the mob commenced throwing stones at these gentlemen, and they were obliged to flee for their lives. Mr. Black then drove to a *cuartel*, and asked for a guard. There were some good liberals in those days, and the officer to whom Mr. Black applied, happened, fortunately, to be one of them. 'Cursed is the country that tolerates friars,' said the officer, and he immediately detailed a guard of six men and ordered them to fire on the first person that offered to insult or retard the procession. They were thus escorted to Tacubaya in safety, and the shoemaker was buried; but those who performed this melancholy duty were scarcely out of sight before the body was dug up, torn apart, the fragments scattered over the ground, and the clothes carried off.

"The wholesale massacres perpetrated by the church armies, and particularly that recently consummated at Tacubaya, by Miramon and Marquez, when the ecclesiastics appeared and incited a drunken soldiery to unheard of deeds of barbarity, and encouraged all abandoned women to strip naked the mangled corpses of the victims, prove that no real improvement has taken place in their priesthood or their religion since that period. Ought not the liberals to receive the aid of civilized nations, in their efforts to destroy this pagan church and nationalize its property?"

"But the most important part of the ceremonies of the day are over. We will go out into the street and take a view of the Archbishop's carriage, called the '*Coche de sa Divina Majestad*.' The coach, with four piebald mules, stands in the street ready to receive his holiness. It is built somewhat after the fashion of the day, massive, and excessively flashy in paint, silver, and gold. The ground of the panels and wheels is mazarine blue. The hubs appear to be tipped off with silver. There is a large golden *glory*, with an eye in the centre, affixed, each, to the rear and the front. The glass is of the thickest and finest plate; the interior is lined with heavy, drab-colored brocade silk, sumptuously stuffed. A large arm-chair, trimmed in the same

style, occupies the entire back part as a fixture. In the front there are seats for two. The panels are covered with exquisite little paintings, representing the Archbishop's arms, and other church devices. I looked all over the carriage, in search of a representation of the Saviour riding on an ass, but found nothing of the kind. "MITLA."

This is the Mexican priesthood, "who alone," says the *London Saturday Review*, "prevent the Mexican people from relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life." This, according to the same authority, is the "Roman Catholic church in Mexico, whose cause for once is the cause of civilization." Here we have a faithful portraiture of the Mexican church and clergy in these central districts of the country where, to the present day, the church maintains its power. But there is a wide distinction between these limited church districts of which the cities of Mexico, Puebla, and Queretaro form the centres, and the surrounding states, all of which have thrown off the dominion of the church, taken up arms in the liberal cause, and are now fighting for civil and religious liberty. The masses of the people in the liberal states are more intelligent, better educated, and both mentally and physically, they are far superior to the people of the church districts. The more remote from the church, the better you find the people. The population of Sonora, we consider superior to that of any other state in the confederacy.

Foreign ambassadors reside in the City of Mexico; travelers visit the City of Mexico; and in all time past, writers of every grade have caught up impressions formed in the City of Mexico, and given to the world thoroughly false notions of Mexico and the Mexican people. Foreigners look with disgust upon the mass of degraded humanity that yet clings to the Mexican church in the central districts. These foreigners, for the most part, leave the country denouncing the entire Mexican race as a degraded, worthless portion of the human family; and yet, they uphold the *cause* of all this—the Mexican church—and every device is used in order that the Christian Powers may be induced to sustain this wicked and de-

structive hierarchy awhile longer. This is the extraordinary feature of the Mexican question. It is a fact that cannot be explained on any principles of right or justice, which are supposed to have some influence in the regulation of the world's affairs, in this enlightened age. The fundamental error is, the belief that the Spaniards ever *christianized* Mexico. We deny that the Spaniards ever did any thing of the kind; and we deny the existence of any thing like decent religion, of whatever name or nature, in the Mexican church, as we find it in the central district of Mexico at the present day.

Among the secular clergy—the poor *curés*—scattered over the country, good and worthy men who do not belie their calling, are sometimes found. But when we come to the regular clergy, in the central part of Mexico, we find little or nothing of the kind. Perhaps no picture of human depravity that could be produced, would appear so revolting as a faithful representation of the private life of this class of Mexican ecclesiastics. The representation, given in all its filthy details, would not be fit for the public eye, and we will not undertake the disgusting task.

These ecclesiastics of Mexico are a thorough combination and condensation of avarice and licentiousness. It was the same at the time of the conquest. If any thing, they were better then than now. The Mexican church had no direct communication with the See of Rome until after the country became independent of Spain. Up to that period, the government of Spain responded to Rome for the church in Mexico, and, under this arrangement, Spain not only derived a revenue from that church which otherwise would have accrued to Rome, but she exercised all her ingenuity in the invention of new modes by which money could be extracted from the Mexican nation, by means of the machinery of the church. Between the mother country and the Mexican church, there was a tacit, if not expressed, compact, that each should play into the other's hands. Church and State had a mutual interest in sustaining each other, while each pursued its own peculiar system of plunder. CORTÉZ himself was startled by these facts at the very commencement, and hence, we have indubitable evidence that the evils under which

Mexico is suffering are not of slow growth, but are, in truth, coexistent with the discovery and conquest of the country by the Spaniards; and it is worthy of note, that the great *conquistador* foresaw that his own stupendous exertions and successes might bring forth bitter fruit. Nothing is more significant of this, and the true state of affairs at the time, than his own words.

In one of his letters to CHARLES V., dated Mexico, October 15, 1524, three years subsequent to the conquest, CORTEZ, after representing to his Majesty the evil of allowing bishops, prelates, etc., to have command of much wealth, continues as follows:

“A still greater evil would result from this state of things. The natives of this country formerly had their priests, who were engaged in conducting the rites and ceremonies of their religion; *and so strict were they in the practice of honesty and chastity, that any deviation therefrom was punished with death.* Now if they saw that the affairs of the church and what related to the service of God were intrusted to canons and other dignitaries, and if they understood that these were the ministers of God whom they beheld indulging in *vicious habits and profaneness*, as is the case in these days in Spain, it would lead them to undervalue our faith, and treat it with derision, and all the preaching in the world would not be able to counteract the mischief arising from this source.”

Here we have the extraordinary testimony, and under the hand of CORTEZ himself, “that if the honest and chaste natives of Mexico were allowed to witness the vicious habits and profaneness of the ministers of the Christian God as practiced in those days in Spain, all the preaching in the world would not be able to counteract the mischief arising from this source.” What a potent and afflicting commentary on the times! But the warning voice of CORTEZ, the result of inspiration in the conqueror, who had the true interest of the conquered country at heart, fell on perverted ears, and his words on that subject have proved a prophecy fulfilled! For three hundred and forty years the natives of Mexico have witnessed the vicious habits of those who came to them as ministers of the Christian God, and all the preaching in the world cannot redeem the evil of the past, or counteract the mischief arising from this source in the future, so far as the natives are concerned.

This Mexican church has been the bane, the curse of the country, holding the consciences of the people, and the purse-strings of the nation, with a diabolical, sordid spirit, and an unyielding grasp. Throughout the rule of the Viceroys, the clergy were keenly jealous of every movement that looked like an infringement of their power and special privileges, and ever on the alert to crush the first semblance of patriotism and liberality. Occupying this position, it has constituted itself an ecclesiastic corporation, with no accountability to either God or man, holding its power, and ruling from age to age under special privileges, and for the sole purpose of accumulating and holding property. Is this Christianity? Is this the business of a *Christian* church? It is generally supposed that Christianity does not require wealth in its ministers as the basis of their power and influence. According to the law of Christ, a *poor* priest is a saving grace—a *rich* one is a living lie.

Why will not the civilized world receive this simple comprehension of the matter, and give the people of Mexico its sympathy in their efforts to overthrow this moneyed priest-oligarchy, which has so long been tolerated under the name of *Christianity*?

The systematic efforts of the Mexican liberals to rid their country of this intolerable oligarchy, commenced with the fall of ITURBIDE. The patriots of Mexico thenceforth attempted to frame a federal constitution, and it was contemplated to incorporate freedom of religion in the new constitution. But the clergy nipped the effort in the bud, and the new constitution came forth, tolerating only the Mexican church. The war of principles had, however, commenced, and several very decided efforts were made in the early days of the republic to throw off the power of the priesthood. The legislature of the State of Jalisco decreed the confiscation of the whole of the church property in that State, pledging itself to make a suitable provision for the ministers of religion at the public expense. The project was sanctioned by the seventh article of the constitution of the State; but the clergy having refused to take the oath upon such terms, and resisted, by a threat of excommuni-

cation, an attempt on the part of the civil authorities to oblige them to submit, the question was referred to the General Congress, which, on December 22, 1824, issued a decree, prohibiting the states from taking any measures calculated to diminish the revenues of the church, without the full concurrence of the ecclesiastical authorities, until the time should arrive at which the General Congress should think it expedient to enact a law for the regulation of the right of patronage throughout the republic.

It is interesting to note, that Mr. WARD, the English minister in 1827, regarded all such movements as the above as dangerous and unjust innovations. Speaking of the decree of Congress, prohibiting the confiscation of the church property in the State of Jalisco, WARD, in his truly valuable and honestly written work, says:

“This measure, although it has been much criticised, was undoubtedly productive of the very best effects, as it put a stop to encroachments on the part of the states, for which the country was by no means prepared, and yet left the door open for all necessary reforms, whenever there was an attempt to exercise spiritual jurisdiction in such a manner as to affect the rights and privileges of any other class of citizens.”

“Productive of the very best effects,” says Mr. WARD, emphatically. A recapitulation of the “effects” from that day to the present shows that even Mr. WARD’s enlightened understanding made a great mistake; and when we come to investigate the relations that have existed between Mexico and those countries called Christian, we find occasion for a large charity toward the Mexicans. This comparatively poor and ignorant people are not accountable for the crime, misery, and ills of every nature, that have afflicted their country. The guilt lies with the Christian powers of earth, whose high representatives, misled and influenced by a few bankers, government contractors, and fraudulent importers, have either winked at the enormity of Mexican misrule or failed to discover it, and invariably brought down a cold and crushing influence on every rising aspiration for real freedom and independence. This, in reality, is the influence that has predominated and ruled in Mexican affairs since the separation from Spain.

The article we publish, from the *London Saturday Review*, corroborates all this. It is the most thorough and complete exposition of mistaken public opinion in England, relative to Mexico, that we have seen.

There is one more point in this English *Review* article, which we cannot suffer to pass without notice. It is wherein the London journal says: "No politician of the native race ever yet sacrificed the opportunity of elevating himself to station, or gave back money which he could spend, or spared an enemy whom it was safe to kill. Juarez sold his country to the Americans without a pang; but civilized men have done this before him; and the fatal symptom about him is not his treason, *but his absolute inability to forego an immediate for an ultimate advantage, or to disappoint for one day his savage instincts of cupidity and revenge.*"

We recommend the attention of the author of the above statement, whoever he may be, whether English, English-Mexican, or French, to the following Mexican correspondence, on the exchange of prisoners captured by the liberals in recent engagements :

"YOUR EXCELLENCY : His Excellency the Governor of the State of Zacatecas, Commander-in-Chief of the division formed of the forces of that State and the State of Aguascalientes, writes to me, under date of 16th inst., as follows :

"YOUR EXCELLENCY : I have to-day written to Gen. Don Miguel Miramon, as follows : 'Yesterday, was completely defeated by the forces under my command, the division of Don Silverio Ramirez, leaving in my power all his artillery and trains, and more than a thousand prisoners, including over fifty officers, as named in the adjoining list. The battle took place at the Hacienda of Penuelas, the enemy making a heroic resistance during three hours, until the field was covered with the slain, among which were several of his principal chiefs.

" 'The Government of the State of Zacatecas took into its charge the prisoners of Loma Alta (a previous battle), and proposed them in exchange for his Excellency Gen. Don Jose Lopez Uruga and the other officers and officials who remained in the power of the enemy in the assault on Guadalajara on the 24th of the last month. This proposal was refused, but the Government of the State of Zacatecas, notwithstanding, immediately gave the order for their liberty without restriction, giving to each his respective passport.

" 'The undersigned now, animated by the same sentiments of humanity, and

as a proof of respect to the rights of humanity, again proposes to the General-in-Chief of the forces in Mexico operating in the State of Jalisco, the unrestricted exchange of the present prisoners of Penuelas for his Excellency Gen. Uruga and the other officers above referred to, at the same time assuring the said General-in-Chief that whatever may be his reply, the undersigned will place at liberty these brave prisoners, whose exchange he proposes, as he has already done with the chief of the medical corps and his subordinates, notwithstanding the remembrance which he retains of the assassinations of Tacubaya, leaving it to history to characterize the conduct of the chiefs of the respective contending forces.

“The undersigned hopes that the General-in-Chief of the above-named forces will be pleased to reply to the present note, and to accept the assurance of his consideration.”

“And I have the honor to transcribe the same to your Excellency, for your superior information, hoping that you will be pleased to extend your approbation to the measure which I have taken with respect to the prisoners of war which are now in my power, because the same is in conformity with the programme which has been adopted by the Liberal Party, and which is its most honorable distinction; with the sentiments of humanity of your Excellency; with the principles of the rights of humanity; and, above all, because there is involved the good name of the Liberal Party both at home and abroad.”

“I have the honor of transmitting the same to your Excellency for the knowledge of his Excellency the President, and stating to your Excellency that I have given my approbation to the step taken by Gen. Ortega, because I wish to persuade myself that some time, our proceedings will find an echo in the hearts of our misguided brothers.

“I renew to your Excellency, with this opportunity, the assurances of my attentive consideration. God and Liberty.

“SANTOS DEGOLLADO.

“To his Excellency the Minister of War and Marine,

“Vera Cruz.

“*Headquarters, San Luis Potosi, June 20, 1860.*”

REPLY OF THE MINISTER OF WAR.

“His Excellency the President has been informed of the official communication of your Excellency, dated on the 20th of last month, in which is inserted the communication of the Governor of Zacatecas, relative to the exchange of prisoners which has been proposed to Gen. Miramon, and which has received the approbation of your Excellency.

“This generous proceeding of his worthy Excellency, Gov. Ortega, as was to be expected, has fully received, as it merited, the approbation of his Excellency the First Magistrate of the Republic, who has directed that the same be manifested to you in due reply.

“The undersigned believes that by this act, the release of Gen. Uruga, and the other prisoners of Guadalajara, will finally be secured; but should

such not be the result, for no reason will there be cause to regret having given liberty to the prisoners taken at Penuelos, not only because it is in conformity with the principles of the Constitutional Government, and of all those who defend legality, to show themselves magnanimous with the vanquished, but because already the enemies of the Constitution are in great part beginning to comprehend the evil their course is inflicting upon the country; and because, also, the true Republican, the lover of his kind, and actuated by generous instincts, is guided by rules of conduct diametrically opposed to those which govern the faction which seeks to re-establish the tyranny of irresponsible power over the people, and to carry them back to the *regime* of past centuries.

"Before concluding this communication, the undersigned feels it to be his duty, as it his pleasure, to congratulate your Excellency and the Governor of Zacatecas upon an act which will pass into history, doing justice to the defenders of the cause of legality in Mexico.

"The undersigned protests to your Excellency with this opportunity his distinguished esteem and consideration. God and liberty.

"AMPUDIA.

"Vera Cruz, July 1, 1860.

"To his Excellency Don SANTOS DEGOLLADO, the General-in-Chief
"of the Federal Army, San Luis Potosi."

"ZACATECAS, June 9, 1860.

"The resolution contained in the communication which, with the present writing, I despatch to head-quarters, was already taken when I received yours of the 6th instant, in which I am instructed to set Don Romulo Diaz de la Vega at liberty. I immediately went to see that gentleman and the other prisoners, showed them the refusal of Gen. Miramon in regard to the proposed exchange, and the superior orders which I had just received from your Excellency. I assured them that they were at perfect liberty, and placed five hundred dollars at the disposition of Mr. Diaz de la Vega, who requested me to distribute it among his companions.

"I have the honor to mention this in reply to your Excellency, repeating to you the protestations of my distinguished esteem and consideration. God, liberty, and reform.

"JESUS G. ORTEGA.

"To his Excellency the General-in-Chief of the Federal Army at San Luis Potosi."

Here we have a correspondence, showing that ORTEGA, general and chief of an army of Mexicans, whom the Mexican priesthood "alone prevent from relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life," writes to General MIRAMON, "descended from two of the first races in Europe," the most faithful servant and the brightest ornament of the Roman Catholic church in

Mexico, whose "cause, for once, is the cause of civilization," and proposes, on humane principles, an exchange of prisoners taken in battle. This correspondence passes to General SANTOS DEGOLLADO, and from him to President JUAREZ, president of that portion of the Mexican people whom the priesthood "alone prevent from relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life," and one of the "politicians of the native race, who never yet sacrificed an opportunity of elevating himself to station, or gave back money which he could spend, or spared an enemy whom it was safe to kill."

The humane proposals for an exchange of prisoners, made by General ORTEGA, are approved by his superiors. But MIRAMON *refuses to exchange*, whereupon, General ORTEGA *sets his prisoners at liberty, gives them money, and sends them on their way rejoicing!* If this is "relapsing into the belief and practices of savage life," we prefer to *relapse*, rather than be held to sustain the church in Mexico, as the cause of civilization.

The sentiments and the acts disclosed in this Mexican correspondence, evince that noble consciousness of power, which the assurance of right can only give. We fear that some of the finest races in Europe do not always entertain the same nobility of conscience. JUAREZ is not a general. He is a lawyer of thorough education and high rank. It is true, he is an Indian—the first, we believe, that ever headed a revolution or held power in Mexico. General DEGOLLADO has not a drop of Indian blood in his veins. He has a fair skin, light hair, and blue eyes. General ORTEGA is also of the white race. But no matter what may be the particular blood or race of the acting parties, the foregoing correspondence would form a bright page in the history of any country; and it is, of itself, a complete refutation of the extraordinary and reckless assertions we have noticed in the *London Saturday Review*. If any are "grossly deceived" in this matter, we think they are those who denounce the liberals and the cause of liberty in Mexico, not those who regard them with a "mild degree of favor."

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THE
MEXICAN PAPERS.

THE MEXICAN QUESTION,
THE GREAT AMERICAN QUESTION.

WITH

Personal Reminiscences,

BY

EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

A SERIAL—ISSUED SEMI-MONTHLY.

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PERSONAL.

THE Mexican Treaty which was finally laid before the Senate of the United States for ratification, has become sufficiently famous to render such of its history as can be given, interesting.

The circumstances under which this treaty was negotiated, and the developments it provoked in the United States before it was finally cast aside in the Senate, form a curious, remarkable, and interesting chapter in our political history.

The principal points in this political chapter to which I wish to direct the particular attention of my readers, are as follows:

First. The incompetency of the present administration to achieve success in our relations with Mexico.

Second. The circumstances under which a desirable treaty with Mexico was finally negotiated.

Third. The *destructive nature of our national politics*, by which a treaty of such vital importance as that negotiated with Mexico, was rejected in the United States Senate.

The views I entertain respecting the incompetency of the administration, in this matter, were acquired in the most legitimate manner. In the Spring of 1858, I came from Arizona to Washington, the authorized bearer of a memorial to Congress from the inhabitants residing in that wild Indian country, and near the Mexican frontier. I had never visited Washington but once before, and that visit occurred in my younger days, when a glorious galaxy of intellects shone resplendent in our national councils. I was, during this visit, in the gallery of the House, when the venerable JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was stricken down by the hand of death, and borne from his seat. Passing along the rear portico of the Capitol shortly after he was removed from the hall, I had a view of the "old man eloquent," not yet dead, but lying near the window on a sofa, placid and calm, in all the solemn and impressive eloquence of

death. During this visit, I saw WEBSTER, CLAY, CALHOUN, CRITTENDEN, BENTON and other statesmen of the times, most of whom have gone to regions from whence they can look down upon the littleness of worldly politics. The impressions made upon my mind on this occasion, were never effaced. I formed a most exalted opinion of the statesmen and government of my country, and it was in this exalted frame of mind, that after many years of active life in those distant regions covered by the tip end of the western wing of the American Eagle, that I came again up to our National Capitol, a little proud—yes, I confess to a little pride—in being the bearer of a memorial from suffering American citizens, residing in a new and uncivilized patch of American territory. I had not been long in Washington, however, before my pride received an awful shock. I found myself in fact, no where, or in other words, entirely out of place. The administration was too much occupied in heading off Mr. DOUGLAS, to give frontier interest any sort of attention. Congress was wrangling over Kansas, and myself and the Arizona memorial, so far as we attracted any attention, were absolutely held in derision. I was, in one sense, a phenomenon. That I should appear in Washington, the representative of the honest and legitimate interests of a people, residing in a distant and unorganized portion of United States territory, with no political influence, and go to head quarters in the expectation of rousing attention and obtaining any relief, was attributed to the hopeless verandancy of a frontiersman. When it was ascertained that I had no axe to grind personally, the wonder with which I was regarded increased, and the lobby, especially, poked considerable fun at me.

Hopelessly dull of comprehension and unsophisticated I must have been, not to have fully realized, during my sojourn of several weeks in Washington, on this occasion, how hopelessly indifferent and ignorant were the powers I found in possession of the National Capital, on those momentous frontier, Pacific, and Mexican interests, with which, from personal experience, I had been familiar for many years. I do not wish to be understood as making sweeping or denunciatory remarks

to the effect, that in my intercourse with public men in Washington, or elsewhere, relative to the subject on which the MEXICAN PAPERS treat, I have met with *none* who manifest any interest or knowledge in these matters. I have met with some among our leading public men who are alive to the subject, and who have to some extent exerted themselves to give those great interests to which reference has been made, that prominence in the politics of the country which their importance demands. Mr. DOUGLAS is one of these: Senator TOOMBS is another. Both these gentlemen entertain enlarged and enlightened views relative to Mexico and our frontier interests generally; and, whenever the opportunity offers, they evince the disposition to do their country justice in these matters. The Hon. THOMAS CORWIN, of Ohio, is another of our leading public men who is alive to the importance of the Mexican question, and I believe he deploras most sincerely the action of his party, in the Senate, in defeating the Mexican treaty. The Hon. S. S. COX, of Ohio, has, for several years, devoted much attention to Mexican affairs, and the relation this country bears thereto. His elaborate and very able speech on this subject, delivered in the House of Representatives, March 19, 1860, is evidence of this. The Hon. JOHN COCHRANE, of New York, has recently waked up to the importance of the subject. Gov. BANKS, of Massachusetts, is also earnestly studying Mexico and the interest we hold in the Spanish-American countries generally. I believe that the resignation of the Governor, and his retirement to Illinois, are as much due to a feeling of disgust for the politics and politicians of his party, as to any other cause.

On renewing my acquaintance with Washington after an interval of twelve years, I could not but note, however, the changes that had taken place in men and things in that locality during this period. Whatever of intellect, statesmanship, and patriotism there may have been in the National Capital in these latter days, those qualities do not appear to have existed in sufficient quantity and power to cope with the immense majority, who have been laying their plans for the presidential campaign, and quarrelling over abstractions on the slavery question—a question settled in favor of free labor years ago. The

prevailing parties have had no time, and not the smallest amount of brains to spare, for any *living* interest in the country, of whatsoever name or nature, either foreign or domestic. What has all this brought us to? A universal Indian war, mingled with murder, want, and discord throughout that entire stretch of country from Washington Territory to Tamaulipas; a near prospect of fearful domestic troubles in the older states, and absolute disgrace before the world in our foreign policy, even in relation to this continent.

I foresaw this state of things when in Washington, in the spring of 1858, as clearly as I see their existence now; and I then became satisfied that our frontier regions were at the mercy of hordes of wild Indians and gangs of white outcasts on the one hand, and an inefficient, incompetent administration on the other hand; and between the two evils, the chances were ninety-nine out of a hundred that a *bona fide* pioneer in those regions would, sooner or later, sacrifice his labor and his life. I concluded, therefore, not to return to the frontier at present, but continue my business connection with that region, and watch from this point the progress of events on the frontier, the Pacific coast and Mexico, all of which interests are, to a certain extent, identical. It is under these circumstances, and from personal experience with the administration and those around it, that I became acquainted with its views, purposes, capacities—or rather incapacities—relative to these great interests; and when I met Mr. McLANE, *en route* for Mexico, I knew perfectly well that he could not have received any very clear and definite instructions in Washington, relative to his action in that country, except to acquire territory. But I soon ascertained that Mr. McLANE was an honest, capable man—a high order of man, in fact—whose abilities would be faithfully exerted for the common interests of his country, without regard to partizan or sectional feeling; and I felt a strong assurance that great good would result from his mission.

In the appointment of Mr. McLANE as Minister to Mexico, the administration deserves credit, and here, perhaps, the charge of incompetency in one respect ought to cease; for,

after appointing a competent minister, the administration has (from what motives I will not stop to inquire,) followed the counsels of its appointee, and exerted itself to the utmost to perfect his highly advantageous negotiations. But, unfortunately, another point of incompetency, and a fatal one, here comes up. It is in the fact that the administration has sunk so low in public estimation, that if by chance a wise and honest measure of general and vital importance happens to be brought forward under its auspices, an opposition, equally, if not more, ignorant and incompetent, can, by an artful perversion of the justly prevailing conviction in the public mind that the administration does not count wisdom and honesty among its prominent qualifications, denounce and defeat any such measure. The administration is thoroughly incompetent for good, therefore, because it lacks the most important of all power—*moral power*; and here we have a complete exemplification of what a stupendous evil it is for the vital interests of our great country to get into the hands of a low order of thoroughly selfish politicians—two distinct political organizations or oligarchies in fact—*whose sole purpose is to acquire power and spoils at the expense of the masses*. How curious and instructive the analyzing of these matters proves!

The facts relating to the negotiation of the Mexican treaty have nearly all been published. The first treaty, framed in Vera Cruz, guaranteed entire freedom of religion throughout Mexico, and conceded certain rights of way, with the privilege of erecting and maintaining warehouses at the termini of the several transit routes; the right of transporting troops, &c.; free entry and transit of goods belonging to American citizens in Arizona, through the ports on the Gulf of California, and across Sonora.

Annexed to these stipulations were guarantees of safety and protection on the part of the Mexican Government, and in case of the inability of that government to protect them, the United States should be at liberty to employ her own armed troops in that office.

In consideration of concessions on the part of Mexico, the United States were to pay her \$4,000,000, of which \$2,000,000

were to be reserved as indemnity for American citizens holding claims against Mexico.

In addition to these stipulations, there was an informal agreement which comprehended an arrangement for the protection of the frontiers, a postal treaty and a commercial treaty, which latter contemplated a moderate tariff on American productions.

This is the outline of the treaty that vibrated between Vera Cruz and Washington for months, on Mr. BUCHANAN's pertinacious demand for a slice of Mexican territory, with which demand the Juarez cabinet would not comply. It is understood that at first, Mr. BUCHANAN demanded of the Mexican Government Lower California, Sonora, Chihuahua, and a part of Coahuila; but on the earnest representations of Mr. McLANE that the Mexicans would not sell their states and territories, Mr. BUCHANAN reduced his demand, and modestly made the transfer of the territory of Lower California a *sine qua non* in the treaty negotiations. On being further informed, in the most decided manner, that the Mexicans would not sell a foot of their territory, Mr. McLANE received instructions on the 16th of August, 1859, to relinquish all demands of that nature, and conclude the treaty without the purchase of land.

But during this period of vibration between Vera Cruz and Washington, Señor FUENTE had taken the place of Señor OCAMPO in the cabinet of JUAREZ, as Minister of Foreign Relations; and when Mr. McLANE went to conclude negotiations, untrammelled by a demand for territory, he found new counsels prevailing in the Mexican cabinet, and he returned home the latter part of August, without anything in the shape of a treaty.

I left Vera Cruz the 12th of June, went up to the City of Mexico, completed my business at that point, and returned to the United States the middle of August. During my sojourn of two months in the City of Mexico, I had most excellent opportunities to examine into the condition of this important central district, the position of the Church party government, its purposes, etc., and of forming an opinion as to the propriety of Mr. McLANE's course in acknowledging the constitutional

government at Vera Cruz, and endeavoring to negotiate a treaty with that government. If I had any doubts of the propriety of the course of our minister, when I left Vera Cruz, they were all settled in his favor by that last visit to the City of Mexico. I have thus expressed myself to him, personally, and his acts command my support through every public and private channel to which I have access.

Mr. McLANE was again despatched to Mexico by the administration. He left New York in the United States Propeller *Brooklyn*, the 10th of November, 1859, and arrived at Vera Cruz the 21st of the same month. Señor OCAMPO then resumed his place in the Juarez Cabinet as Minister of Foreign Relations, and negotiations were immediately renewed. The treaty previously framed, with the addition of the eighth or commercial article, and a more distinctly defined agreement relative to the protection of the frontiers by the Executives of both countries, was signed by the negotiating parties on the 14th day of December, 1859. This treaty arrived in Washington the latter part of the same month. It was finally negotiated by the parties in Vera Cruz, at a critical period, and for the best interests of both countries. Instead of receiving any aid from the administration at Washington, in his negotiations, our minister was retarded for months by a pertinacious demand for territory, and throughout the entire period of his mission, Mr. McLANE has been obliged to enlighten and instruct his own government, and maintain his position solely by his personal tact, efforts, and abilities.

The foregoing is a statement of my principal reasons for believing that the administration is incompetent to achieve success in our relations with Mexico, and of the circumstances under which the treaty was negotiated with that country.

I insert the treaty in this part of the MEXICAN PAPERS, as it comes in order, and those of my readers, who give it sufficient attention, can judge for themselves as to its merits.

THE McLANE-OCAMPO TREATY.

A TREATY OF PEACE AND COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE MEXICAN REPUBLIC, NEGOTIATED AT VERA CRUZ, DEC. 14, 1860.

ARTICLE I.

As an amplification of the eighth article of the treaty of the 30th of December, 1853, the Mexican Republic cedes to the United States and its citizens and property, in perpetuity, the right of way, by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, from one ocean to the other, by any kind of road now existing, or that may hereafter exist, both Republics and their citizens enjoying it.

ARTICLE II.

Both Republics agree to protect all routes now existing, or that shall hereafter exist, over the said Isthmus, and to guarantee the neutrality of the same.

ARTICLE III.

Simultaneous with the first *bona fide* use of any route across the said Isthmus for purposes of actual transit, the Republic of Mexico shall establish two ports of deposit—the one on the east, the other on the west of the Isthmus. No duty shall be levied by the Government of Mexico upon foreign effects and merchandise which may pass *bona fide* by the said Isthmus, and which may not be intended for the consumption of the Mexican Republic. No incumbrance or tolls shall be imposed upon foreign persons and property which may pass by this road beyond those that may be imposed upon the persons and property of Mexicans. The Republic of Mexico will continue to allow the free and untrammelled transit of the mails of the United States, provided they pass in closed mail bags, and they be not for distribution on the road. Upon such mails none of the charges imposed, nor of those which may hereafter be imposed, shall be applied in any case.

ARTICLE IV.

The Mexican Republic agrees that it will establish for each of the two ports of deposit—the one on the east, the other on the west of the Isthmus—regulations that will permit the effects and merchandise belonging to citizens or subjects of the United States or of any foreign country to be entered and stored in warehouses, which shall be erected for that purpose, free of all tonnage or other duties whatever, except the necessary charges for cartage and storage, which said effects and merchandise may be subsequently withdrawn for transit across the said Isthmus, and for shipment from either of the said ports of deposit to any foreign port, free of all tonnage or other duties whatever; and they may likewise be withdrawn from the said warehouse for sale and consumption, within the territory of the Mexican Republic, on the payments of such duties or imposts as the said Mexican Government may be pleased to enact.

ARTICLE V.

The Republic of Mexico agrees that should it become necessary at any time to employ military forces for the security and protection of persons and property passing over any of the routes aforesaid, it will employ the requisite force for that purpose ; but upon failure to do this, from any cause whatever, the Government of the United States may, with the consent, or at the request of the Government of Mexico, or of the Minister thereof at Washington, or of the competent legally appointed local authorities, civil or military, employ such force for this and for no other purpose ; and when, in the opinion of the Government of Mexico, the necessity ceases, such force shall be immediately withdrawn.

In the exceptional case, however, of unforeseen or imminent danger to the lives or property of citizens of the United States, the forces of said Republic are authorized to act for their protection without such consent having been previously obtained ; and such forces shall be withdrawn when the necessity for this employment ceases.

ARTICLE VI.

The Mexican Republic grants to the United States the simple transit of its troops, military stores and munitions of war by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and by the transit or route of communication referred to in this Convention from the city of Guaymas, on the Gulf of California, to the Rancho de Nogales, or some suitable point on the boundary line between the Republic of Mexico and the United States near the one hundred and eleventh degree west longitude from Greenwich, immediate notice thereof being given to the local authorities of the Republic of Mexico. And the two Republics agree, likewise, that it shall be an express stipulation with the companies or enterprises to whom hereafter the carriage or transportation is granted, by any railroads or other means of communication, on the aforesaid transits, that the price for conveying the troops, military stores, and munitions of war of the two Republics shall be, at most, one-half the ordinary fare paid by the passengers or merchandise which may pass over the said transits ; it being understood that if the grantees of privileges already granted, or which hereafter may be granted, upon railroads or other means of conveyance over said transits, refuse to receive for one-half the price of conveyance the troops, arms, military stores, and munitions of the United States, the latter government will not impart to them the protection spoken of in articles second and fifth, nor any other protection.

ARTICLE VII.

The Mexican Republic hereby cedes to the United States in perpetuity, and to their citizens and property, the right of way or transit across the territory of the Republic of Mexico, from the cities of Camargo and Matamoras, or any suitable point on the Rio Grande, in the State of Tamaulipas, *via* Monterey, to the port of Mazatlan, at the entrance of the Gulf of California, in the State of Sinaloa, and from the Rancho de Nogales, or any suitable point on the boundary line between the Republic of Mexico and the United States, near

the one hundred and eleventh degree west longitude from Greenwich, *via* Magdalena and Hermocillo, to the City of Guaymas, on the Gulf of California, in the State of Sonora, over any railroad or route of communication, natural or artificial, which may now or hereafter exist, or be constructed, to be used and enjoyed in the same manner and upon equal terms by both Republics, and their respective citizens, the Mexican Republic, reserving always for itself the right of sovereignty which it now has upon all the transits spoken of in the present Treaty. All the stipulations and regulations of every kind applicable to the right of way or transit across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, that are or have been agreed upon between the two Republics, are hereby extended and applied to the foregoing transits or rights of way, excepting the right of passing troops, military stores, and munitions of war, from the Rio Grande to the Gulf of California.

ARTICLE VIII.

The two Republics likewise agree that, from the list of merchandise here annexed, the Congress of the United States shall select those which, being the natural, industrial, or manufactured product of either of the two Republics, may be admitted for sale and consumption in either of the two countries, under conditions of a perfect reciprocity, whether they be considered free of duty, or at a rate of duty to be fixed by the Congress of the United States; it being the intention of the Mexican Republic to admit the articles in question at the lowest rate of duty, and even free, if the Congress of the United States consents thereto. Their introduction from one to the other Republic shall be made at the points which the governments of both Republics may fix upon, at the limits or boundaries thereof ceded and granted for the transits, and in perpetuity, by this Convention, either across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec or from the Gulf of California, to the interior frontier between Mexico and the United States. If any similar privileges should be granted by Mexico to other nations at the termini of the aforesaid transits upon the Gulfs of Mexico and California, and upon the Pacific Ocean, it shall be in consideration of the same conditions and stipulations of reciprocity which are imposed upon the United States by the terms of this Convention.

LIST OF MERCHANDISE ANNEXED TO ARTICLE VIII.

Animals of all kinds.	Drawings and models of large machinery, buildings, monuments, and boats.
Plows and loose iron bars.	
Rice.	Boats of all sizes and classes, for the navigation of the rivers on the frontier.
Poultry and fresh eggs.	
Quicksilver.	Brooms, and material for their manufacture.
Stone coal.	Bridle bits.
Fresh, salted, and smoked meats.	Fresh, dried, and sugared fruits.
Wood and iron houses.	Type, spaces, plates for printing
Raw hides.	
Horns.	
Chile or red pepper.	

or engraving, rules, vignettes, and printing ink.

Printed books of all classes bound in paper (pamphlet bound).

Hops.

Timber, unwrought, and firewood.

Butter and cheese.

Geographical and nautical maps and topographical plans.

Marble, wrought and unwrought.

Machines, and implements for agriculture, farming, mining, for the development of the arts and sciences, and their fixtures, either loose or for their repair.

Dyewood.

Fish, tar, turpentine, and ashes.

Plants, trees, and shrubbery.

Slates for roofing purposes.

Common salt.

Riding-saddles.

Palm-leaf hats.

Plaster of Paris (gypsum).

Vegetables.

Undressed sheepskins.

Grain of all kinds, and from which bread is made.

Flour.

Wool.

Lard.

Tallow.

Leather, and manufactures of leather.

Every species of textile or woven fabric of cotton, excepting that called brown sheeting (*mantátrigueña*.)

ARTICLE IX.

As an amplification of the fourteenth and fifteenth Articles of the Treaty of the fifth of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, in which that which relates to the exercise of their religion by the citizens of Mexico was stipulated, the citizens of the United States will be permitted to exercise freely in Mexico their religion, either in public or in private, within their houses, or in the churches and places which may be assigned to worship, as a consequence of the perfect equality and reciprocity which the second Article of the same Treaty states was taken for its basis. The chapels or places for public worship may be purchased, and shall be held as the property of those who may purchase them, as any other common property is purchased or held, excepting therefrom, however, the religious communities and corporations to whom the present laws of Mexico have prohibited entirely and forever and a day the obtaining and holding any thing whatever in propriety. In no case shall citizens of the United States residing in Mexico be subject to have forced loans levied upon them.

ARTICLE X.

In consideration of the foregoing stipulations, and in compensation for the revenue surrendered by Mexico on the goods and merchandise transported free of duty through the territory of that republic, the government of the United States agrees to pay to the government of Mexico the sum of \$4,000,000, of which two millions shall be paid immediately upon the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, and the remaining two millions shall be retained by the government of the United States for the payment of the claims of citizens of the United States against the government of the Republic of Mexico, for injuries already inflicted, and which may be proven to be just,

according to the law and usage of nations and the principles of equity ; and the same shall be paid *pro rata*, as far as the said sum of two millions will permit, in pursuance of a law to be enacted by the Congress of the United States for the adjudication thereof, and the remainder of this sum shall be returned to Mexico by the United States, in case there be any such remainder after the payment of the claims thus found to be just.

ARTICLE XI.

This Treaty shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and by the President of Mexico, in virtue of his extraordinary and actual executive functions, and the respective ratifications shall be exchanged at the city of Washington, within the exact period of six months from the date of its signature, or sooner if possible, or at the seat of the Constitutional Government, if any alterations or amendments be proposed by the President and Senate of the United States, and accepted by the President of the Republic of Mexico.

CONVENTIONAL ARTICLES BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO TO ENFORCE TREATY STIPULATIONS, MAINTAIN ORDER, ETC.

WHEREAS, In consequence of the existing civil war in Mexico, and particularly in view of the disturbed condition of the inland frontier of Mexico and the United States, occasions may arise when the forces of the two Republics may find it necessary to act in concert and co-operation to enforce treaty stipulations, and to maintain order and security in the territory of either Republic : wherefore, the following Convention has been agreed upon :

ARTICLE I.

If any of the stipulations of existing treaties between Mexico and the United States are violated, or the safety and security of the citizens of either Republic are endangered within the territory of the other, and the legitimate and acknowledged government thereof may be unable, from any cause, to enforce such stipulations, or to provide for such safety and security, it shall be obligatory on that government to seek the aid of the other in maintaining their due execution, as well as order and security in the territory of that Republic where such violation and discord occur ; and in every such special case the expenses shall be paid by the treasury of the nation within whose territory such intervention may become necessary ; and if disorder shall occur on the frontier of the two Republics, the authorities of the two Republics nearest to the place where the disorder exists shall act in concert and co-operation for the arrest and punishment of the criminals who have disturbed the public order and security of either Republic ; and for this purpose the parties guilty of these offences may be arrested within either Republic and delivered over to the authorities of that Republic within which the crime may have been committed ; the nature and character of such intervention, as well as the ex-

pense thereof, and the manner of arresting and subjecting to punishment the said criminals, shall be determined and regulated by an agreement between the executive branches of the two governments.

ARTICLE II.

This Convention shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the United States, and by the President of Mexico, in virtue of his extraordinary and actual executive functions, and the respective ratifications shall be exchanged at the city of Washington within the exact period of six months from the date of its signature, or sooner if possible, or at the seat of the Constitutional Government, if any alterations or amendments be proposed by the President and Senate of the United States, and accepted by the President of the Republic of Mexico.

Signed, { ROBERT M. McLANE,
 { MELCHOIR OCAMPO.

The developments provoked in the politics of the United States by the foregoing Treaty, constitute the most remarkable and instructive portion of the political history I have undertaken to write. Up to the time this Treaty appeared in Washington, what little public feeling was manifested on the subject through the press appeared to favor the liberals of Mexico and their cause. After the arrival of the Treaty, the subject was generally mentioned by the public journals, but, owing to the prevailing apathy and ignorance relative to Mexican affairs, the Treaty elicited no particular comment, except among the leading journals in the larger cities of the Union. The prominent Republican journals, such as noticed the Treaty discursively, were the first and most bitter denunciators of the Mexican liberals and the Treaty negotiated with the constitutional government of Mexico. This is the most curious anomaly in the whole matter, and one to which I particularly desire to direct public attention; for in its solution, there is much to be learned relative to the destructive tendencies of one section of our national politics.

The following extracts afford a fair example of the sense, sentiment, and style of a certain class of public journals that opposed the Treaty, and denounced all connected with and interested therein.

From the New York Tribune, Feb. 27, 1860.

"The whole country should understand the question in all its bearings before the government commits itself to the proposed radical change in our relations with that huge, rotten mass of slunk civilization. Whether the consequences in store for us under the proposed new adjustment of our international relations with that country shall be the annexation of its comparatively unpeopled provinces, falling to us in disintegrated masses, as fast as we may be able to spread slavery over them, or whether they shall come in the shape of a ready absorption of its area that is already covered by a priest-ridden, mongrel, ignorant, dwarfed, and semi-savage population, is alike unimportant to us, in a national point of view. Either arrangement would be alike mischievous, and pregnant with evil consequences.

"If we are to take Mexico at all, either the part that has population, or the portion that has not, let us come at the subject distinctly and understandingly. Let us know exactly what we are about. We ought not to pursue covert modes to attain the object. We do not want to do either, by the authority of a questionable treaty exacted from the necessities of one of the peripatetic, robbing factions that alternately rise and disappear annually in Mexico. A treaty, too, that can be made to mean either much or little, just to suit the convenience of the Executive branch of this Government. A treaty by which we can either take or let it alone, according to the demands of the Slavery-spreading and Disunion element of our Federal politics. A treaty which is a first-rate specimen of an 'entangling alliance,' and which is intended to plunge our relations with Mexico into a maze of diplomacy, where they can be manipulated just to serve the ends of this same political joint-stock company. Let us have every thing that concerns a matter of such vital importance open and above-board. It is an exceedingly difficult subject to treat, any way. Let us strip it of all ambiguities and uncertainties. We do not want to get into any Mexican quagmires, or Dismal Swamps. If we are after Sonora, let us say Sonora. If it be other provinces, let us name them. If it be all Mexico, let us say so. Let the people understand exactly what the Government aims at. We protest against doing things by stealth or under false pretences. As things now stand, the Free States must fight for their share of new territorial acquisitions. We demand that they shall know when any thing of this sort is going on, in order that they may, as Mr. Calhoun used to claim for slavery in California, 'have a chance to get in.' If we are going to take Mexico, or any part of it, the people of the North want a chance to get in.

* * * * *

"How the members of the Senate stand in regard to it is not definitely known. The main body of the Republican senators are against it, perhaps all."

Tribune, March 3, 1860.

"If a new treaty, of straightforward stipulations, giving us unincumbered commercial advantages, and clear grants of land, could be made, we might well hold a complacent attitude in view of its ratification, provided we first

had a Homestead bill. The slavery extension party should be met by going ahead rather than by holding back. Let us have the vacant territory south of us, and fill it with colonists, and thus overslaugh slavery therein. Mexico is falling to pieces, and we shall soon have an opportunity to obtain the fragments we need on our own terms.

* * * * *

"If we could run a tier of free states straight across the continent, on the southern line of Texas, we should let in an amazing flood of light on the slavery question by the process. Such a cordon could not be jumped by slavery, and Lower Mexico might fester and putrify at leisure, with comparatively small danger of spreading her contamination upon us. As things now stand, and they would be even worse under this hybrid treaty, we have no security against a peon slavery being established and gradually ligatured on to our southern extremity, to be followed by a weltering process, making our southern limits more vague than the tail of Milton's Satan."

The foregoing extracts may be called vagaries, but there is nothing vague in the meaning of these vagaries. There may be something vague relative to the "*tail* of Milton's Satan," but there certainly is nothing vague as to the *infernal attributes* of Milton's Satan, and, according to my conception of these, the sentiment running through the quoted extracts from the *Tribune*, was suggested by his Satanic majesty. And then we have the old story, or mistaken public opinion, on Mexico over again, though the style may be extreme: "huge, rotten mass of slunk civilization," "a priest-ridden, mongrel, ignorant, dwarfed, and semi-savage population." "A tier of free states, straight across the continent, on the line of Texas," evidently, according to the plan of the *Tribune*, means *Kansas*, "straight across the continent, on the southern line of Texas," and the *Kansas border warfare*, throughout that line of country, over again.

There are some noteworthy exceptions to the general course pursued by the Republican journals relative to Mexico and the Mexican treaty. Among these, I have noticed the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, the *Cincinnati Gazette*, and the *Chicago Press and Tribune*. The *New York Times*, *Herald* and *Express* have earnestly advocated the Mexican treaty. Also, the *Boston Courier* and *Boston Post*; and I believe the New Orleans journals, generally, have favored the course of Mr. McLANE in Mexico. But the treaty was seized upon by the

leaders of the Republican party in the north, and their coadjutors the disunionists of the south, and the destructive politics of these parties had accomplished their work on the Mexican treaty before it came up, even, in the Senate of the United States.

The Mexican treaty first came up in executive session of the Senate, Feb. 28, 1860, and, though it was a secret session, I find the following report of its proceedings in the *Tribune* of Feb. 29th :

"After disposing of the morning business, the Senate went into executive session upon the Mexican treaty, and consumed two hours in discussion. Mr. MASON opened, saying he had brought himself with some reluctance to oppose this project, because it seemed at first blush to favor a departure from the settled policy of the government, which he would never consent to sanction. But in view of the state of anarchy which existed in Mexico, he was willing to make the experiment. In regard to the objection urged, that JUAREZ does not represent the regular government, he supposed he was as much entitled to that recognition as the other faction ; and though now exercising authority over a small district of country, he believed, though unable to give any positive assurance to the Senate, that the ratification, with the aid which we would render, would establish the liberal cause in power.

"Mr. WIGFALL, in an able and effective speech, denounced the whole scheme as utterly unworthy of countenance or toleration. There was no government in Mexico capable of making a treaty, or of carrying out its stipulations if made. We did not want Mexico or her mongrel population. JUAREZ and his Indian crew could not govern themselves, and if brought into contact with our people would contaminate them.

"Mr. PUGH objected to some of the commercial provisions as favoring certain interests over others, but was willing to take the treaty if amended in those particulars.

"Mr. SIMMONS closed the discussion in one of his strong, conclusive, practical arguments, exposing the sophistries of the alleged commercial advantages. New England had no interest, immediate or remote, in this treaty, but exactly the reverse. It is substantially reciprocal free trade with Mexico, which would require us, under the clause inserted in every commercial treaty for the last forty years, of admitting each nation to an equal footing with that of the most favored nation, to claim similar privileges, and would result in destroying our revenue and compelling a resort to direct taxation.

"This point, and others equally forcible, produced much impression.

"Mr. HAMMOND obtained the floor, and would have proceeded but for the announcement of Mr. SPINKS' death.

"The subject is postponed till Thursday, Mr. SEWARD having the floor for to-morrow. The treaty is dead as Julius Cæsar. The developments of to-day

will probably bring several Democratic opponents into life, who yielded to the persuasions of the President, and were prepared to conquer prejudices. Messrs. HAMMOND, CHESNUT, ANDREW JOHNSON and others, may be counted adversely."

According to the foregoing report, we find that the "able and effective speech" of Mr. WIGFALL, (after the *Tribune* style, "mongrel population;" JUAREZ and his Indian crew;" "contaminate," &c.,) with one of Mr. SIMMONS' strong, conclusive, and practical arguments did, in reality, kill the Mexican treaty, "dead as Julius Cæsar."

Washington Correspondent of the New York Tribune, March 5, 1860.

"The Mexican treaty is not delayed before the Senate on account of any documents or information to be furnished by the State Department, but because the opposition of Mr. WIGFALL, and the approval of his sentiments by Mr. HAMMOND, rendered the defeat of the ratification inevitable, without some fortunate intervention. At least six Democrats, and perhaps more, declare they will not support the treaty, and Mr. BRIGHT is among the number."

The Mexican treaty again came up in executive session of the Senate, May 31st, and though this was a secret session, the following report of its proceedings, by far the most complete and full I have seen, is found in the *Tribune*, which appears to have been the special organ of the treaty-killing party.

Washington Correspondent of the New York Tribune, June 1, 1860.

THE MEXICAN TREATY.

"When I announced two months ago that the Mexican treaty was dead and could not be resuscitated, it was impudently denied by newsmongers here, who then affected superior knowledge, and who since that time have been constantly promising a ratification without the least knowledge of the state of opinion in the Senate. The result to-day proves their ignorance. The treaty was called up at half-past one in a brief speech by Mr. MASON, urging the necessity of immediate action, in order that the Executive might know what policy to pursue. He was followed in an ingenious and well-considered argument by Mr. SIMMONS in favor of the treaty, upon what he regarded as commercial considerations.

"Mr. HAMMOND took a broad and statesmanlike view of the subject, contending that the ultimate acquisition of Mexico, which the treaty was intended to initiate, would be the forbidden fruit which Mr. CALHOUN had described when speaking of Cuba; and while it might tend to the dissolution of the Union, he

could not see how the South was to be benefited by the addition of that mongrel population. Hence he was opposed to it.

"Mr. SEWARD was not willing to commit the Government to an important treaty with a faction, which might be immediately deposed by another that would repudiate the action of its predecessor, and be compelled either to surrender what had been acquired, or probably to resort to war for its enforcement.

"After further remarks by Mr. BENJAMIN and others, Mr. SIMMONS called for a division of the following amendments: Insert the eighth and tenth articles from treaty in their proper places to suit the following: Article eighth, strike out the word 'agree' in line one, and insert the following:

"Likewise agree that the articles of merchandise herein enumerated, such as are the natural, industrial, or manufactured products of the Republic of Mexico, be admitted for sale and consumption into the United States of America free from duty or customs charges, as such in any form; that is to say, animals of all kinds, agave fiber, dressed or undressed, or made into rope, bags, or hammocks; ashes, boats of all sizes and classes for the navigation of the rivers of the frontier, cocoa shells, cocoa leaves, and cocoa nuts; coffee, cotton, cochineal, drawings and models of large machinery, buildings, monuments and boats; dye-woods of all kinds and extracts therefrom; fresh fruits; fresh, salted and smoked meats; flour, fish; grain of all kinds, and from which bread may be made; geographical and nautical maps, and topographical plans; horns and horn tips; indigo, jalap, lard; mahogany, and other woods useful in the manufacture of furniture; marble, wrought or unwrought; machines and implements for the development of the arts and sciences, and their fixtures, either loose or for their repair; poultry and fresh eggs, plants, trees and shrubbery, plaster of Paris, (gypsum,) palm-leaf hats, pepper, either red or black, quicksilver, rice, raw hides, sarsaparilla, slates for roofing purposes, tar, tallow, timber, unwrought and firewood, tobacco, turpentine, type, spaces, plates for printing or engraving, rules, vignettes and printing ink, undressed sheepskins, vanilla, wool, the value when exported shall not exceed — cents per pound.

"And the two Republics likewise agree, that the articles of merchandise herein enumerated, being such as are the natural, industrial, manufactured product of the United States of America, which shall be admitted for sale and consumption into the Republic of Mexico, free from duty or customs charges, as such in any form, that is to say: Animals of all kinds, ashes, boats of all sizes and classes for the navigation of the rivers of the frontier, brooms and material for their manufacture, butter and cheese, drawings and models of large machinery, buildings, monuments and boats, every species of textile or woven fabric of cotton, excepting that called brown sheeting, 'Mantâtrigueña,' fresh fruits, fresh, salted and smoked fish, grain of all kinds and from which bread is made; geographical, nautical maps and topographical plans; lard, leather, and all manufactures of leather; machinery of all kinds, and implements for agricultural, farming, mining, for the development of the arts

and sciences, and their fixtures, either loose or for their repair; marble, wrought or unwrought; palm-leaf hats, plants, trees and shrubbery, plows and iron in pigs and bars loose, poultry and fresh eggs, printed books of all classes bound in paper, pamphlets bound, plaster of Paris, gypsum, quicksilver, rice, slates for roofing purposes, stone coal of all sizes, tar and turpentine, tallow, timber, unwrought and firewood, tobacco, type, spaces, plates for printing and engraving, rules, vignettes, and printing ink, wood and iron houses.

"If any similar privilege shall be granted by Mexico at the termini of the aforesaid transits upon the Pacific Ocean, or at any other ports of entry of the Republic of Mexico, such grants or privileges shall be made upon the same or similar conditions of reciprocal benefits with those herein stipulated between the United States and Mexico, and shall not be granted without the payment of a proportionate amount of money in advance, in each case, as an equivalent and compensation for the revenue surrendered by Mexico in relinquishing the specific or other duties imposed upon others, upon the introduction of the articles herein enumerated into that Republic. The amounts to be paid in money by such other nation, shall bear the same proportion to the amount of its trade with Mexico in the articles of merchandize herein enumerated, as the sum of \$4,000,000 bears to the amount of the trade from the United States to the Republic of Mexico in the same articles of merchandize, and shall be computed and apportioned in each case upon the amount of the actual trade of such other nation to Mexico, in said articles of merchandise, for the five years next preceding the time of the ratification of the present treaty, and all such commercial privileges shall terminate simultaneously with those herein granted.

"Article X.—Strike out after the word 'stipulations,' line two, and insert the following in lieu thereof: And as an equivalent and compensation for the revenue surrendered by Mexico, upon the merchandize from the United States to be entered for consumption in, or to be transported through the territory of Mexico, free of duty, the sum of \$4,000,000, of which \$2,000,000 shall be paid to Mexico immediately upon the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, and the remaining \$2,000,000 shall be retained by the Government of the United States for the payment of the claims of citizens of the United States against the Government of Mexico for injuries already inflicted, and which may be proved to be just, according to the law and usage of nations, and the principles of equity. And after the claims shall be ascertained, and a list of the names of the claimants is reported to Congress, with the amount due to each respectively, in pursuance of a law to be enacted by the Congress of the United States for the adjudication thereof, the said \$2,000,000 shall be appropriated by Congress for the payment of said claim in full, if the sum retained is sufficient, and pro rata if insufficient, to pay the whole, and the remainder of the \$2,000,000 shall be paid to Mexico by the United States in case there is any remainder after the payment of the claims thus proved to be just.

"The stipulations contained in the Eighth Article of the present Treaty are to continue for ten years and thereafter, until one or the other of the said Republics shall have given one year's previous notice that they desire to termi-

nate the same. And these and all other stipulations shall take effect when the \$2,000,000 agreed to be paid to Mexico shall be paid, and the necessary laws to carry the same into effect shall be passed by the Congress of the United States.

"These amendments were rejected by 20 to 26, Republicans voting with them to oblige Mr. Simmons, and Democrats adversely.

"Mr. Wigfall then moved an amendment providing for the reclamation of fugitives from service or labor, which received a majority, but could not be inserted for want of two thirds.

"Finally, a division was called on the naked treaty, which was defeated, 18 to 27. Messrs. Simmons and Anthony alone of the Republicans voted in the affirmative. Messrs. Hammond, Hunter, Chesnut, Iverson, Johnson, and Wigfall, of the Democrats, went against it. Douglas was not present, though he has been out for several days, and entertained a large party last night. Various Senators were paired off.

"Just as the Senate was about adjourning, Mr. Simmons entered a motion to reconsider, which would have been voted down but for the confusion of the moment. Thus ends this farce."

The only objections advanced against the treaty, that can be found throughout the whole of the *Tribune's* report, are those of Senators HAMMOND and SEWARD. Let the reader refer to the alleged objections made by those distinguished senators, and judge whether TALLYRAND was not partly right when he made the remark that "language was invented to conceal mens' thoughts."

Senator WIGFALL evidently had a masked battery in reserve, when he made the significant motion for an amendment providing for the reclamation of "fugitives from service," etc.

The report of this last secret executive session of the Senate places Senator SIMMONS in a position almost the opposite to that he is reported to have assumed when the Mexican treaty was first called up. Whatever may have been the position of Senator SIMMONS at the outset, there is abundance of evidence to prove that ultimately he labored energetically and honestly to consummate a measure so fraught with vital interest to the country at large. It appears that Senator SIMMONS, with his colleague, Senator ANTHONY, stepped boldly out of the ranks of their party, and, of all the Republican senators, they alone voted for the ratification of the Mexican treaty. All

honor, then, to the Rhode Island senators for this exhibition of their wisdom and patriotism !

I am again indebted to the *Tribune* for its report of the last dying throes made by the Mexican treaty, in executive session of the Senate, on the 27th of June, 1860.

Washington Correspondent of the New York Tribune, June 28th, 1860.

"The Mexican treaty was nominally reconsidered, and therefore goes over till next session. It required only a majority, and there was no disposition to contest the point when pressed so earnestly by Mr. Simmons. Messrs. Anthony and Wilson voted with him to galvanize the corpse. Juarez will probably be in exile before the treaty is again considered, if present signs may be trusted."

The treaty was finally postponed, I am credibly informed, on motion of Senator WILSON. How this senator, who had certainly manifested considerable favor towards the Mexican treaty, and an intelligent appreciation of the *imminent* importance of its ratification, should have been the one to finally and virtually kill it, "dead as Julius Cæsar," is more than I can comprehend.

I have now given an outline of the history of the Mexican treaty from the day of its inception to the day of its rejection ; and I do not hesitate to assert that the circumstances under which this treaty was negotiated, and its final defeat, will be referred to ten, twenty, fifty years hence, as one of the most remarkable chapters in our political history that can be found on record.

Does any one believe that if the administration had, at an early day, marked out an intelligent, decided, and just policy with Mexico, a policy, the result of *convictions based on knowledge*, and enforced this policy with that moral power which intelligent and honest convictions always command,—does any one believe, I ask, that this treaty, wrought out by an honest and capable servant, could not have been carried even against the destructive opposition of the Republican and fire-eating politicians who united to destroy it ?

And does any one believe that the Republican party, in Washington, evinced, in their action on the Mexican treaty,

any *honest convictions based on knowledge*, relative to the Mexican question, or any sentiment higher than that of a determination to achieve success in their own thoroughly selfish political purposes, no matter by what means, or at what expense to the country at large? Otherwise, how could they, on such frivolous pretexts, unite with the disunion faction in defeating the Mexican treaty, and thus leave the country exposed to dire evils, among which may be counted filibustering for disunion purposes, and the intervention of European Powers on our own borders?

After such flagrant trifling with stupendous interests, as the *Tribune*, in a self-glorifying spirit, exposes in this matter, I do not wonder that its report closes with the remark, "Thus ends this farce."

The *New York Journal of Commerce*, remarking upon the MEXICAN PAPERS, says:

"Mr. DUNBAR deems it legitimate, in discussing questions of Mexican policy, to arraign, and to praise or condemn, pretty much everybody connected with our own government, giving to his "Mexican Papers" a wide scope and range, and tending, we fear, to involve him quite as deeply in American politics as in the affairs of Mexico."

This criticism of the *Journal* is just, and to the point,—nothing could be more so. I am an American citizen; born and bred, and have the right to vote. I am, according to the theory, if not the practice of democratic institutions, one of the people—the masters, who send their servants to Washington, to attend to their interests. I find those national servants in Washington do not attend properly to my interests as a private American citizen, engaged in lawful and legitimate business. Therefore, I very naturally claim the right to "arraign, and to praise and condemn pretty much everybody connected with our government," according, as in my opinion, they deserve, and investigate the causes that carry individuals so notoriously unfit for their position, into power. Not being a disappointed or expectant politician, I feel a glorious independence in being able to apply the knife to *both* of the great political parties, whose politics, as I conceive, are of a destruc-

tive character to my own lawful and legitimate interests, and who have brought the whole country to the condition and position so correctly stated by Mr. SEWARD in his recent Detroit speech, viz.: universal dissatisfaction at home, and our institutions a hissing and by-word for all creation abroad. I may be wrong in my independent notions, and in my views relative to the nature of our institutions.

I certainly aim to give "a wide scope and range" to the MEXICAN PAPERS. This is the very nature of the subjects of which my publication treats, and in discussing questions of Mexican policy, I confess to becoming "quite as deeply involved in American politics as in Mexican affairs." The discussion of the Mexican question *inevitably* involves the discussion of American politics, and of those vital interests in the United States over which the politics of negro politicians have been so long allowed to maintain their destructive ascendancy.

MITLA LETTER.

FROM VERA CRUZ TO JALAPA.

CITY OF MEXICO, *July 25, 1860.*

"Having waited some days in the hope of joining a party sufficiently strong to cope with the robbers on the road to this city, and no such opportunity offering, I concluded to run the gauntlet *solo* and take such chances as might fall to my lot. Therefore, on Sunday morning, June 12th, amid sunshine and showers—smiles and tears—I left the *Hotel de las Diligencias*, City of Vera Cruz, in a Troy coach with eight passengers bound for Jalapa, and just outside the walls, at the railroad depot, the vehicle was placed on a car made for the purpose, six mules attached *tandem*, and in little less than three hours we passed over this piece of iron road to San Juan, a distance of seven leagues. This is the commencement of the railroad between Vera Cruz and the City of Mexico, and here the enterprise is likely to rest for a long time to come.

"The journey from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico, the people, climate, scenery, productions, and every peculiarity of the country, have been so often described by travelers, that the like attempt, on my part, would simply be a work of supererogation. I relate my personal experience on the trip, therefore, as the means of elucidating the peculiar state of the country at the present time, reserving the right to touch upon the world-renowned wonders of nature, and give some pretty hard facts a light and fanciful setting.

"Leaving San Juan at 1 P. M., we continued our route through the *tierra caliente*, or hot country, up hill and down, on the Jalapa road, yet maintaining a gradual ascent.

"Staging has been reduced to a science on the high roads in Mexico. The coaches are good, and the teams, either horses or mules, generally four abreast on the lead and two at the wheel, are of the best description. The coachman is usually an *expert*, and if the roads are good they gallop; if bad, a constant lashing and cracking of the whip is maintained, and they get along as fast as they can. We soon began to experience the ills of a bad road. A great part of the distance between Vera Cruz and Jalapa has been paved with large cobble stones, or, as they might be called with more propriety, *boulders*. By reason of these having been torn up in many places, and used to obstruct the passage of troops, by reason of rains, the cutting up by enormously-loaded wagons and from neglect, this road is now in the worst possible condition. By this road, however, or one much like it, *via* Orizaba, you must pass from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. Over these stones we bounced, over steep pitches we plunged, down into deep gullies we swayed and reeled, at the rate of six miles per hour, until it seemed as if every bone would come out of the flesh. But on we went; passed the *Puente Nacional* at dusk, and had a fine view of this great work of art and its magnificent surrounding of scenery. At ten in the evening we reached the small town of *Plan del Rio*, ate a pretty good supper, rested three hours, and then resumed our journey. Early in the morning, long before the sun reached the horizon, we discovered the noble Peak of Orizaba on the left. From

our point of view, it presented a perfect pyramidal shape, covered with snow, and its base resting on soft, scroll-like clouds, delicately tinged with golden hues, while the Peak itself received the full rays of the sun, and towering high above and among the clouds, resplendent and glittering in yellow light and the glory of the morning, displayed to the imagination of us poor mortals the portal of heaven. 'Wonderful country!' one ejaculates, mentally, if not audibly.

"We now experienced a fresh and bracing atmosphere, which is not known in the country we left but yesterday, though tropical productions continue abundant. The hills and mountains are on a grander scale, the lands over-rich and covered with foliage of the rarest tints. At 12 m., we reached Jalapa, a beautiful town seated on the hills—distance from Vera Cruz, eighty miles. Being desirous of seeing something of the place, and moreover dreadfully bruised in the flesh, I determined to lie over two days for the next diligence. The journey of all the passengers, except myself and one other, ended here. Among them were two who exhibited a phenomenon worthy of notice. They were mother and daughter, both excessively fat; small, dimpled hands, and arms like legs of mutton, such being frequently met with among the señoras of the Republic. During all this rough jaunt, these creatures neither burst, chafed, or rode uneasy, but there they sat on the back seat like two dumplings in a dish, highly comfortable. When a violent motion of the coach caused the gentlemen to knock their heads together, or crack their sconces against the roof, the ladies would gently roll up their eyes, ejaculate, '*Jesus!*' '*Santissima Maria!*' or something of that nature, in sympathy for the harder bone and muscle of their companions. On arriving at Jalapa, they were as chipper, bright, and lively as though they had come all the way quietly in a Boston rocker. The power of endurance in fat women is truly wonderful.

"The road from Vera Cruz to Jalapa presents many scenes of desolation and ruin, on account of the civil war now raging. Houses burned or thrown down, fields neglected, haciendas

and villages almost totally abandoned. Certain districts are, in fact, entirely desolated.

"In Jalapa we found General Robles with 1200 men, church forces, holding the town. Also, the *conducta* of *caudales* or specie, sixty wagons containing nearly six millions of dollars, *en route* for Vera Cruz. The yearnings of Robles and his men over this train, nearly caused every box of specie to fly open.

"The beauty of the country about Jalapa and its climate, have not been exaggerated. There is no winter here; but spring—eternal spring—blends with summer. Peach, apricot and pear grow side by side with the orange, fig and banana. Corn, potatoes, and a great variety of vegetables thrive and abound. The women of Jalapa deservedly rank among the most beautiful and graceful in the republic. The houses that line the streets are mostly of one story, and very neat. Each house has an ample window, secured by iron or wooden bars. Behind these are seen beautiful señoritas, who, like caged birds of paradise, cast longing looks, sometimes soft and sometimes bright, upon the world without.

"The climate is in the highest degree healthy, and I could not but think that many of our citizens who are now hurrying from their hot piles of brick and mortar to mountain and sea, would, some day, search out this remarkable country for recreation and health.

FROM JALAPA TO PEROTE.

"On the evening of the second day of my arrival, General Robles, having dispatches to forward, ordered the diligence to start at 10 o'clock that night, instead of the next morning. The rain was pouring in torrents, and the signs foretold a terrible night to be floundering about in a stage-coach. But Mr. S., an Englishman residing in the country, and myself, the only passengers for Mexico, concluded to go rather than wait for the next stage, two days later. Ten o'clock came and away we went, amid terrific thunder and lightning, the heavens one sheet of water and torrents coursing down the hilly streets, so that the poor, blinded mules could scarcely make their way around corners and out of the town. We at last reached the

high road, which proved to be no better than that on the other side of Jalapa; if any thing, worse. We tumbled along, however, after the usual style, upset only once, but luckily being near a ranch, plenty of assistance was at hand to right the coach. Early in the morning we passed the highest mountain summit between Jalapa and Perote. We were in the region of pine, fir and dwarf oak. The storm continued, the blast was cold and piercing, and it needed but a little snow or sleet to make a perfect winter scene. Descending from this, we reached Perote at 11 A. M., thirteen hours from Jalapa—distance, thirty-three miles. Perote is situated on an elevated plain not remarkable for its fertility. The castle of Perote is about one mile north of the town. The civil war rages to such an extent in this region, that the town is partially abandoned. The castle is held by a considerable body of church forces. The aspect of this region is bleak and mournful.

“The Spaniard Cobos, a brutal robber, and one of the worst in the country, but now a general in the army of Holy Mother Church, was here with six hundred of his men. This body had formed part of the specie train escort to Jalapa, and had returned to this point, *en route*, it was supposed, to Oajaca on a robbing excursion.

“We were to resume our journey at 3 o'clock the next morning, and having the afternoon to spare, Mr. S. and myself walked out to the castle, and when a short distance from the entrance, we met a carriage containing two officers. “They are the Governor of the Castle and Cobos,” said my companion. Cobos put his head out to look after us, and came to the conclusion that we were dangerous individuals. The carriage shortly after met a horseman, and stopped. The horseman soon dashed past us into the castle, and as we were about making a *detour* of the walls, a guard, duly armed and equipped, came forth and stated that we were wanted in the castle. “Trapped in this miserable hole,” thought I to myself. Into the castle we went, and arriving among a crowd of officers and soldiers, one of the former told the guard that they were ordered to send us to the town and not bring us to the castle, whereupon the officer went to headquarters to learn what

the orders really were. Matters looked a little squally. 'What is to be the upshot of this affair?' I inquired of S.

"'I am afraid we have lost our seats for Puebla to-morrow morning,' he replied.

"The long line of Mier prisoners who were decimated for death and served out their horrible servitude here, came up before me. Thoughts of the many atrocious imprisonments and barbarities for which Perote Castle is renowned, came into my mind. 'Perhaps,' thought I, 'they read *Milla* in my face, and desire to give me an opportunity to take notes inside as well as outside.' Many thanks if this kindness was intended. But the aforesaid officer soon returned, and with a polite bow, but sinister expression, informed us we could retire to the town. We therefore tore ourselves away from the gaze of several hundred soldiers of a diluted order, so far as military appearance and action were concerned, and departed. But not until 3 o'clock next morning, when roused by the gruff voice of the driver, informing me that the coach was ready, and I found myself rolling out of the town, did I consider it a clear case of release from the bloodthirsty Spaniard Cobos, or any other robber chief who might be in the place.

FROM PEROTE TO PUEBLA.

"Leaving Perote, we enter the high road to new adventures not of the most agreeable nature. This section of road is much better than that we have passed. The country is generally level, and in some places quite sandy. But we are in the heart of the banditti district. In the *tierra caliente*, between Vera Cruz and Jalapa, robberies are not frequent. Coming from Jalapa to Perote out of the usual time, we encountered no one, but now, in the ordinary course of events, we shall meet with more or less of the fraternity.

"Occasionally a strong party, well armed, bids defiance to the robbers, and passes through without being robbed; but at the present time, as large bands are overrunning the country, and robbing in the name of "*law and order*," those who are obliged to travel prepare to be robbed by leaving their arms, taking little or no baggage, a few silver dollars in the pocket

to purchase some degree of civility, and as little else of value about the person as possible. You can deposit a sum of money at the diligence office, and receive a circular therefor which is available at any of the stations on the road. With small carpet-bag, containing a few indispensable articles, eight dollars in cash, and not clad in my "*Sunday best*," I was in a condition to go through the operation of being robbed. As stated, the coach, with Mr. S., myself and a Mexican youth, belonging in Puebla, left the place at three A. M. The posts are from three to four leagues apart, and twelve miles from Perote we drove up to the first post, which is at the hacienda of Claude Simon, one of the most extensive and wealthy *haciendados* of the country. The building extends several hundred feet along the road, and on our arrival, there were ranged against the walls some one hundred and fifty peons, chanting the *maitines*. The darkness of night was still upon the earth. A faint streak in the east, beneath heavy, black clouds, alone indicated the dawn of day; and there this dark mass of humanity stood grouped together, performing the first heathenish ceremony of the day—heathenish to them, for all they do is in obedience to force and the superstition of uncounted, unknown ages. All the harmony of their chant was in those sad, wailing, plaintive tones that come from a lost and doomed people, in whose souls the light of reason faints and flickers in its last struggle for existence. The morning chant of these poor, abject beings, but little above the brute, was one of the most melancholy treats I ever had the pleasure of experiencing. But now they have gone to their labor in the field, to return with the darkness of night. The obtaining of the most labor out of human beings as well as brutes, at the least possible cost, has, under the study of ages, been reduced to a science in this part of Mexico, held by the Church.

ENCOUNTER WITH ROBBERS.

"But we are again on the road, and the hacienda of Don Claude Simon is scarcely out of sight, ere we are told that robbers may be expected. We went on, however, under this state of expectation until nearly eleven o'clock, when we ap-

proached a noted locality called the *Dos Ceritos*, or two small hills. Here the driver gave a low significant whistle as a warning to us inside, and we soon discovered seven mounted men coming over a rise to the left, and cautiously approaching the coach. The driver pulled up, and his assistant (there are always two on the box) got down and stood at the head of the team. The robbers having satisfied themselves of our numbers, and that we were not armed, came up and commenced operations. They were all masked—all wore India-rubber ponchos or serepas, all were armed with muskets or carbines and common horse-pistols, part with flint and part with percussion locks. One continued to circle at some distance around the coach, reconnoitering, three remained mounted with their muskets bearing upon us, three dismounted and ordered us to get out. We got out and they demanded money. I extracted eight dollars from my pockets, which was double the amount I had intended to have on hand for the occasion. As the scoundrels grabbed the cash, I asked them to leave a dollar to pay for breakfast. One of them signified that he would. They then fumbled all over our persons, rammed their hands into our pockets, &c., in search of concealed valuables. While undergoing this operation, my curiosity was such that I could not forbear breaking over one of the laws of the institution, and indulge my eyes with a good look at the robbers. The captain, who was on a beautiful white horse, discovered this, and bringing his carbine to bear full in my face, ordered me to lower my eyes. They obtained a few dollars from Mr. S., but nothing from the Mexican youth. The personal examination being over, their attention was turned to the coach. One of them, taking out my carpet bag, signified that he wished it opened. I gave him the key, he opened the bag, searched it thoroughly, but took nothing of its contents, locked it and handed me the key with some degree of politeness. Turning round, I discovered my companions a short distance from the coach, lying flat on the ground, face downwards. This is the position in which the robbers place travelers while they are searching the coach, baggage, &c. Sometimes the feet of passengers are tied together. Knowing that I would not be

allowed to witness the conclusion of the performance, which was that of searching the coach, &c., I went out by my companions, and sat down with my back to the performers, resolved not to place myself in a more humiliating position until forced into it. The robbers ransacked a trunk belonging to Mr. S., took therefrom pantaloons, coat, and a few other articles, slammed down the top, threw the trunk back on the baggage rack, and buckled down the boot. They then searched the coach, running their hands into holes between the linings and into the cushions; examining the curtains beneath the seats, &c., &c. By a sly look now and then, I saw nearly the whole performance. That search being over, they came to us and pulled off our boots, and to my astonishment, this little operation paid them better than all else. In the lining of the Mexican's boot they found two gold ounces, (\$32.) Having completed their search, the scoundrels mounted, all formed a line, and signified to us to enter the coach and be off. Soon as we were under way, I put my head out to take a parting look. 'They will fire at you, if you look after them,' exclaimed the Mexican. Nevertheless, I saw that they watched us in a body, until we were out of sight.

"This was being robbed in Mexico after the usual and most approved fashion. I have seen numerous stories of fights with robbers, but no very full account of a genteel operation, such as I have recounted, has come to my notice.

"This band of robbers, so far as I could discover, was composed of the common *greasers* of the country. They were quite taciturn, and what little they did say was in an undertone. They were in great haste, and the rascal who searched my person manifested so much tremor that I was inclined to tell him he should not be harmed. The affair came off in an open, slightly rolling country, with three haciendas in sight. Probably the owner of one of these haciendas was captain of the robbers. It appears that my experience in this affair was rather of a mild order. Sometimes the robbers, if they think they will be resisted, and desire to frighten passengers, open with a general fire upon the coach. Again, in their haste and tremor, they sometimes accidentally wound or kill, and they

beat or otherwise maltreat travelers, according to the whim they may entertain at the time. Women are sometimes stripped nearly naked and otherwise badly used.

"Two months since, Mr. Barron of this city, an American named Taylor, also living here, and a Scotchman; came from Vera Cruz prepared to resist the robbers. Shortly after leaving Perote, they encountered a band, and during the skirmish, Taylor shot two of the *ladrones* dead; and from this time the diligence was ambushed and attacked at intervals by constantly-increasing numbers, until, within some fifteen miles of Puebla, the ammunition of the passengers gave out, and they barely escaped with their lives to the belfry of a small church near by, where they kept a large number of robbers at bay with a few remaining shots. News of the situation of these passengers was carried to Puebla, and a body of troops started out to relieve them. They arrived in the night, and dashing in among the robbers, opened fire. The freebooters, mistaking the government troops for an accession of their own forces, cried out: "*What do you fire upon us for? we are robbers too.*" A hard truth came out here in the dark. One party murders and robs on an extensive scale in the name of the church, and law and order; the other is composed of petty outsiders, who do things on a smaller scale, and are only fit to be hanged; so, securing four of the band, the troops hung them next morning on a tree by the roadside, and the passengers went on their way rejoicing. This is traveling in Mexico, and thus it has been, to a greater or less extent, since the country had a history. '*Dios y ley!*'

"Continuing our route, we had the delightful prospect of meeting two or three more bands of these highwaymen before reaching Puebla in the evening, and I began to feel exceedingly uncomfortable in the reflection that I might be obliged to enter that city in the full costume of a professor of the manly art of self-defence—*i. e.*, stripped to the buff. But some good spirit prevailed this day, and caused a heavy rain to fall, which gave us a free passage through a long stretch of the banditti district, until we reached a small puebla, called Napalucan, where we learned the robbers were awaiting us at

one of their favorite localities about a league ahead, known as the *Barranca de Aguilar*. Just before arriving at this place we met several *arrieros*, who informed us that the *ladrones* had come down upon them at the Barranca and taken their entire train of *burros*, or donkeys, fifty-three in number, and made off with them to the mountains. Until recently this robbery of animals and freight-trains has not been usual, but now, entire trains with their loads, unless strongly guarded, are taken. The animals are kept secreted in the mountains several weeks, when they are driven by roundabout ways to the City of Mexico or elsewhere, and sold at a very low price, the parties purchasing driving them to other distant parts where the brands are not known and no questions asked, and in their turn, selling them to a profit. This is the system pursued in New Mexico and Arizona by those interesting and well-beloved citizens of the United States, known as Apaches. The only difference is, that the Government of Mexico has not yet reached that point of civilization and refinement which induces it to form treaties of peace and friendship with the highway Apaches of the Republic, and establish agencies whose duty it is to issue to the marauders rations, arms, &c., to carry on their predatory warfare; neither does the Mexican Government establish military posts which serve to create business for the robbers and cut-throats. And the Mexican Government, whether from a desire to put down opposition in business or not, does not matter here, but this Government does frequently catch and hang one of their highway Apaches. It might be well for the United States to learn how to regulate that portion of acquired Mexican territory named above, before entering deeper into the speculation.

"We passed the *Barranca de Aguilar*, and, in fact, completed the balance of the journey through the banditti district, without meeting any more robbers, or adventures worthy of note, and entered the City of Puebla at 7 P. M., amid the general ringing of bells. I thought a great celebration was in progress, but found it to be the hour of vespers.

THE CITY OF PUEBLA.

"The City of Puebla is situated on a beautiful and elevated plain, or table land, in the *terra templada*, 175 miles from Vera Cruz, and 75 miles from the City of Mexico.

"This city was founded at an early day by the Spaniards. The streets are perfectly level and run at right angles. The style of architecture which has come down from Assyria, and the solidity of structure which characterizes the labors of the Spaniard in this line, prevail here. The general arrangement of the city is exceedingly beautiful, and its locality is charming. The population is estimated at 70,000, and a more fanatical, thoroughly priest-ridden community cannot be found in the world.

"About 4 o'clock in the morning, I was aroused by a universal peal of bells. It continued down to the breakfast hour, until dinner, night, and into the night. This universal and constant ringing of bells I found to be one of the daily manifestations of paganism in the City of Puebla. The subject of bells is clear and distinct. The chime or sound of church bells, in time of peace, falls sweetly upon the ear, and carries an influence softly sad or cheering to the soul. Church bells, "bells on the wind," marriage bells, funeral bells, sleigh bells, dinner bells, and cow bells, each in moderation and in the proper place, perform their own particular service satisfactorily, but when it comes to a city full of churches, and the churches full of bells of all sizes and sounds, each one of which appears to be striving to clang-whang the loudest, out of all harmony and reason, from early dawn till night, the ear is palled, and one becomes disgusted with all bells. But thus it is in the City of Puebla, and in any other but a pagan community, the priesthood would be indicted for causing an infernal nuisance.

"The City of Puebla is full of pagodas, full of high officiating pagans, such as bishops, priests, friars, monks, and Jesuits; full of pictures and images, outside as well as inside the pagodas. The ceremony of taking off hats in the streets of Puebla is carried on to a ludicrous extent. The people take off their

hats whenever they meet bishop, padre, monk, friar or Jesuit; whenever they pass an image, either in paint, plaster or wax, and whenever the bells indicate that some particular performance is going on in the pagodas. I made a calculation that a pagan devotee of Puebla, in passing through the streets, takes off his hat to bishop, padre, friar, monk, Jesuit, picture, statue or bells, on the average at least once in every two minutes, or thirty times per hour, giving to one whose occupation requires him to be in the streets, say eight hours per day, two hundred and forty opportunities to uncover.

"During the several days of my sojourn in Puebla, there were what are called "*funciones solemnes*," or solemn performances in the pagodas, and grand processions in the streets, with candles, lanterns, banners with every description of heathen device thereon; bands of music and cannon, filth, flash, tinsel, noise, abject stupidity and pagan fanaticism, led by those claiming to represent Christ on earth. The groups of bishops, padres, etc., which I had various opportunities of seeing here, presented the worst shaped heads, and in their persons the most gross and sensual appearance of any body of men that can be produced in any quarter of the globe.

"All this region of country at the present time is given up to rapine and murder. All the haciendas are suffering severely—some are approaching the point of ruin. A large portion of the proprietors are now residing in Puebla with their families, to avoid violence and annoyance from the lawful and unlawful banditti, who are constantly roaming over the country. Agriculture languishes, and all regular business in the towns and villages is exceedingly depressed. The City of Puebla itself has its full share of the evil. The poor are scarcely able to keep body and soul together, and many who have been in affluent circumstances are now needy. Religious and military officials carry matters with a higher hand than ever, coining gold out of the sweat and blood of the people; and this people, from first to last, are so lost in heathenism as to kiss the heel that is grinding them into the dust.

"But what says the Mexican account of this city? There is a book in common use here, recently published and written

by one who styles himself "Jesus Hermosa," the literal translation of which is "Jesus Lovely." Speaking of Puebla, this book says: "The city contains 70,000 inhabitants, who are generally *valiant, hospitable, pious, courteous, and enlightened.*"

FROM PUEBLA TO MEXICO.

"Having satisfied myself with regard to the community of Puebla, visited the Indian town of Cholulu, and seen something of the surrounding country, which is very beautiful, I resumed my journey to Mexico, taking a seat in the diligence at 4 A. M. The road between Puebla and the City of Mexico has been so very unsafe that, in order to keep up a communication between the two cities by diligence, the Government was obliged to appropriate an escort. This arrangement took place a few days before my arrival. We accordingly left with ten well mounted dragoons, and there was a relief at each post of about four leagues; until we reached the mountains, half way, the guard was increased, and there never were less than twenty to thirty in sight. The country from Puebla to Mexico, throughout the entire distance, is one of varied beauty. After leaving Puebla, you pass through the exquisitely beautiful valley of San Martin, and from thence begin to climb the highest mountains between the sea and the City of Mexico. About 12 M., high up in the mountains, you reach the little valley through which courses the small stream known as the Rio Frio. The village therein located, as seen from the top of the long hill, resembles a saw-mill settlement in Maine. And why not? A cold valley, rushing stream, and pine forests, which supply the City of Mexico in a great measure with lumber. As we drove up to the *fonda*, kept by a French woman six feet high, a regular Jonathan stood in the door—one of the old style, swallow tail, pantaloons retreating up his legs, and a huge freshly-peeled pine walking-stick in his hand. He was the presiding genius—the superintendent—of a glass manufactory in the neighborhood.

The road over the mountains is generally in a shocking condition. I could not but think, as I went thumping over this highway with aching bones, how much better would it be if

the burly bishops, priests, friars, etc., of the central district of the Republic, were put to work breaking stone and macadamizing the roads, now in such a dreadful condition through their heathenish despotism. Hand labor would bring some of the moral filth out of them. Their labors and their dollars should be devoted to the repairing of every ruined highway in the Republic. They would then commence their work of penance in this world, in sight of the humanity they have so outraged for ages.

As you reach the summit of the highest mountain, the valley of Mexico, in all its variety and beauty, bursts upon the view. Take it all in all, probably nothing equal to it can be found in the world. Descending the zig-zag road you soon reach the table land, and pass on through villages and fields to the last post, ten miles from Mexico. From thence you pass over one of the finest avenues leading to the city. There were two well-filled coaches, and a mile from the city we met a cavalcade of some dozen *caballeros*, well mounted, who came out to greet friends, etc., and as we galloped on, I could not help thinking how much better this gay troupe of some forty horsemen looked, escorting me into the city as a traveler rather than as a prisoner. President MIRAMON has my sincere thanks for this escort, and I wish all his troops were engaged in some such respectable duty. We entered the city at dusk, passed through the grand plaza, down a long street, dashed into a hole in the wall, rattled through arches and *patios*, and brought up with a jerk in the grand *patio* of the Hotel Iturbide.

MITLA.

PUBLIC OPINION ON MEXICO.

We continue the publication of extracts, in evidence of the mistaken public opinion on Mexico, so universally prevalent.

EXTRACTS FROM THE "ATLANTIC MONTHLY," FEBRUARY, 1860.

"It is impossible to believe that the Juarez government is possessed of much strength; and the gentleman who lately represented the United States in Mexico (Mr. Forsyth) is of opinion that it is powerless. Nevertheless, our

government acknowledges that of Juarez, and has made itself a party to the contests in Mexico."

* * * * *

"It is useless to quote the treaty which the Juarez government has just made with our government, as evidence of its liberality and good faith. That treaty is of no more value than would be one between the United States and the ex-king of Delhi. Nothing is more notorious than the liberality of parties that are not in power. There is no stipulation to which they will not assent, and violate, if their interest should be supposed to lie in the direction of perjury. Have we, in the hour of our success, been invariably true to the promises made in the hour of our necessities? A study of the treaty we made with France in 1778, by the light of after years, would be useful to men who think that a treaty made is an accomplished fact. The people of the United States have to choose between the conquest of Mexico and nonintervention in Mexican affairs. There may be something to be said in favor of conquest, though the President's arguments in that direction—for such they are, disguised though they be—remind us strongly of those which were put forth in justification of the partition of Poland; but the policy of intervention does not bear criticism for one moment. Either it is conquest veiled, or it is a blunder, the chance to commit which is to be purchased at an enormous price; and blunders are to be had for nothing, and without the expenditure of life and money."

EXTRACTS FROM THE "ATLANTIC MONTHLY," APRIL, 1860.

"That our government means to persevere in its designs against Mexico, in spite of the misfortunes of the Liberals, is to be inferred from all that we hear from Washington. The victories of Oajaca, Queretaro, and Colima, won by the Conservatives, have wrought no apparent change in the Presidential mind. So anxious, indeed, is Mr. Buchanan for the triumph of his plan, that he is ready to seek aid from his political opponents. Leading Republicans are to be consulted personally, and they are to be appealed to and asked patriotically to banish all party and 'sectional' feelings from their minds, while discussing the best mode of helping 'our neighbor' out of the Slough of Despond, so that she may be enabled to meet the demands we have upon her,—not in money, for that she has not, and we purpose giving her a round sum, but in land, of which she has a vast supply, and all of it susceptible of yielding good returns to servile industry.

* * * * *

"We need not dwell upon the importance of second causes in the government of mankind. We find them at work in fixing the future of Mexico. The final cause of the absorption of Mexico by the United States will be the restless appropriating spirit of our people; but this might leave her a generation more of national life, were it not that her territory presents a splendid field for slave-labor, and that, both from pecuniary and from political motives, our slaveholders are seeking the increase of the number of Servile States."

* * * * *

"We have said enough to show the capabilities of Mexico as a slaveholding country ; and of the desire of American slaveholders to push their industrial system into countries adapted to it, there are, unfortunately, but too many proofs. They are prompted by the love of power and the love of wealth to obtain possession of Mexico, and the energy that is ever displayed by them when pursuing a favorite object will not allow us to doubt what the end of the contest upon which the United States are about to enter must be. We have, then, to consider the character of the people upon whom slavery is to be forced, and the probable effect of their subjugation to American dominion. The subject is far from being agreeable, and the consideration of it gives rise to the most painful thoughts that can move the mind.

* * * * *

There is not an argument used in behalf of the rigid slave codes of several of our States which would not be applicable to the enslavement of the black and mixed Mexicans, all of whom would be of darker skins and less enlightened minds than the slaves that would be taken to the conquered land by the conquerors. How could the slaves thus taken there be allowed to see even their inferiors in the enjoyment of personal freedom? If the State of Arkansas can condescend to be afraid of a few hundred free negroes and mulattoes, and can illustrate its fear by turning them out of their homes in mid-winter, what might not be expected from a ruling caste in a new country, with two and a half millions of colored people to strike terror into the souls of those comprising it? Just or humane legislation could not be looked for at the hands of such men, who would be guilty of that cruelty which is born of injustice and terror. The white race of Mexico would join with the intrusive race to oppress the mixed races ; and as the latter would be compelled to submit to the iron pressure that would be brought to bear upon them, more than two millions of slaves would be added to the servile population of America, and would become the basis of a score of Representatives in the national legislature, and of as many Presidential Electors ; so that the practice of the grossest tyranny would give to the Slaveholding States, *per saltum*, as great an increase of political power as the Free States could expect to achieve through a long term of years illustrated by care and toil and the most liberal expenditure of capital.

"The Indians would fare no better than the mixed races, though the mode of degradation might differ from that which would be pursued toward the latter. The Indians of Mexico are a race quite different from the Indians whom we have exterminated or driven to the remote West. They are a sad, a superstitious, and an inert people, upon whom Spanish tyranny has done its perfect work.

* * * * *

"Even if it should not be sought to enslave the Indians of Mexico, that race would not be the less doomed. There seems to be no chance for Indians in any country into which the Anglo-Saxon enters in force. A system of free labor would be as fatal to the Mexican Indians as a system of slave labor. The whites who would throng to Mexico, on its conquest by Americans, and

on the supposition that slavery should not be established there, would regard the Indians with sentiments of strong aversion. They would hate them, not only because they were Indians,—which would be deemed reason enough,—but as competitors in industry, who could afford to work for low wages, their wants being few, and the cost of their maintenance small. It is charged against the Indians that they are not flesh-eaters; and white men prefer meat to any other description of food. Place a flesh-eating race in antagonism with a race that lives on vegetables, and the former will eat up the latter. The sentiment of the whites toward the Indians is not unlike that which has been expressed by an American statesman, who says that the cause of the failure of Mexico to establish for herself a national position is to be sought and found in her acknowledgment of the political equality of her Indian population. He would have them degraded, if not absolutely enslaved; and degradation, situated as they are, implies their extinction. This is the opinion of one of the ablest men in the Democratic party, who, though a son of Massachusetts, is ready to go as far in behalf of slavery as any son of South Carolina.

“Another eminent Democrat, no less a man, indeed, than President Buchanan, is committed to very different views. He is the patron of Juarez, whom he would support with all the power of the United States, and whose government he would carry to “the halls of the Montezumas” in the train of an American army. Now Juarez is a pure-blooded and full-blooded Indian. Not a drop of Castilian blood, blue or black, flows in his veins. He is a genuine Toltec, a member of that mysterious race which flourished in the Valley of Mexico ages before the arrival of the Aztecs, and the marvellous remains of whose works astonish the traveller in Yucatan and Guatemala.”

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH MADE BY THE HON. FRANK BLAIR, BEFORE A NEW YORK AUDIENCE, AT THE COOPER INSTITUTE, JANUARY 25TH, 1860.

“A treaty has been negotiated with Juarez, a pure blooded Indian, and who in the war of castes now existing in that unhappy country is recognized as President by the chiefs commanding in the outlying States or departments where the Indian races predominate in Mexico. His authority is disowned in the capital, and the central States where the white race has some remains of strength, and where the church, which has so long shielded them from the overwhelming numbers of the Indian and colored races, still guards and defends them with her power and influence. Mr. Buchanan has leagued himself with the Indian Juarez in this war of religion and caste; leagued himself with the chief who has by edict already confiscated the property of the Catholic church, and will exterminate its defenders of the white race, in order to possess himself of its spoils. The treaty which has been negotiated by our President, proposes to furnish four millions of money to Juarez to prosecute this war against the Catholic church and the white men of Mexico. The President also asks that Congress shall surrender to him the war-making power, in order that he may support Juarez with the arms of the United States, and with

troops levied among the fillibusters, who are looking with longing eyes to the plunder of Mexico and its ultimate possession. The Dred Scott decision having already overthrown our free institutions, would carry slavery into this new conquest, and the system of peonage, the hereditary servitude of debt, would still more readily become assimilated to the peculiar institution. Inexorable, indeed, is the demand for the extension of slavery, when it compels Mr. Buchanan to league himself with an Indian in a war of caste and religion—a war against the proprietary class of Mexico, and to confiscate the estates of that church whose members in this country elevated him to the Presidency. (Applause.)”

That very respectable journal, the *Philadelphia North American and Gazette*, has a Washington correspondence over the signature of “*Independant*,” which forms a prominent feature in the paper. This correspondence has followed up the liberals and their cause, and public opinion on Mexico, with marvelous pertinacity, in the following style :

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE OF THE PHILADELPHIA NORTH AMERICAN “INDEPENDENT,” JULY 12, 1860.

(*After the defeat of the Mexican Treaty.*)

“When it was thought a political object could be promoted by extending aid and comfort to the mongrels and mixed breeds of Mexico, who, under the name of Liberals, were seeking possession of power, but unwilling to fight for it as brave men should do, the President was prompt enough to recognize the Indian Juarez, who knows as much about liberty, in its high sense, as he does about the Koran.

“It turned out like most of his experiments, and the ‘Constitutional President’ of Mexico has not been able to survive the partiality of his friend in the White House.”

The foregoing extracts, in connection with those from the *Tribune*, given as examples of the prevailing public opinion on Mexico, also afford a fair illustration of the manner in which our relations with that country have been treated by the leaders of the Republican party in the United States, especially since the arrival of the McLean-Ocampo treaty in Washington.

We have noted exceptions to this general course among Republican journals; also, that a limited number of journals not Republican, have taken sufficient interest in the matter to give their earnest and intelligent advocacy to the policy that

countenances the liberals of Mexico, and a treaty of amity and commerce with the constitutional government of that country. But powerful as this advocacy was, it made no impression on the public mind, so effectual has been the perverted use of mistaken public opinion on Mexico, and so artfully have our sectional politicians managed in casting the bad character of our present administration, over those wise and honest measures with the neighboring Republic, which happened to be brought out under its auspices.

The reader will at once perceive how closely the idea of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and of the *London Saturday Review*, relative to the *Indian element* in Mexico, is followed throughout all the extracts herein given. Because the Indians, the aborigines, the *natives* of Mexico, who have for centuries writhed and groaned under the heel of the oppressor, are, according to the best of their ability, endeavoring to achieve freedom, they are abused and denounced from one end of christendom to the other. Because they are Indians, *natives*, and have a *dark skin*, they are held up to the scorn and derision of the whole world. And who are foremost in thus denouncing the Indian race of Mexico, and doing their best to crush out the aspirations for liberty in this race, because it is *Indian*, and has a *dark skin*? Why, they are those who call themselves the leaders of the great Republican party in the United States—leaders who are fairly screaming into the public ear their hatred of oppression, their love for their *black* brother in bondage; their determination to give him freedom at all hazards, and place him on an equality with his white brother at the earliest possible moment! What a fathomless depth of cant and hypocrisy this glaring inconsistency reveals. The light it gives penetrates the dark, cavernous abodes of fanaticism, and brings out in bold relief the hideous, ghastly spectre of the “irrepressible conflict.”

Here is a subject of contemplation for Christians, philosophers, political economists, and humanitarians of every grade. The study of this most extraordinary anomaly has become exceedingly interesting to us, and we fear its solution will not

prove a very flattering commentary on the progress of Christianity and freedom in the United States.

The Indian element in Mexico *is not* the controlling element in the present revolution in that country, as all the authorities from which we quote persist in asserting. But admit that the Indian element is the controlling element, how does it strengthen or improve their argument against *liberty* in Mexico?

We have not the space in the present number of our publication to give any lengthy reply to the quoted extracts. A full exposition of the ethnological, religious and political elements now at work among the Mexican people, upon which all these extracts touch in a manner calculated to give the public entirely erroneous views, would transcend the limits of several numbers of the MEXICAN PAPERS. At the present moment, we must be content with simply pointing out some of the most prominent errors in these extracts.

In the first place, we will inquire whether the Mexican nation is what the *Tribune*, in characteristic language, denominates it,—“a huge, slunk mass of civilization!” And we will further inquire whether the world is so thoroughly subdued, and the surplus of ready-made laboring men and women is so great, that several millions of this class of inhabitants in the southern part of Mexico may be suffered to “fester and putrefy at leisure,” after we have acquired the northern part of that country, “on our own terms,” having assisted it to fall to pieces? It is estimated that the amount of gold and silver legally exported from Mexico since the conquest, up to the year 1858, is \$4,640,204,889, or an average of \$13,687,920 per annum from the landing of Cortez to 1858. It is a well known fact that a large amount of specie and bullion has, from the commencement, been smuggled out of Mexico, and \$6,000,000,000 is doubtless nearer the amount actually sent out of the country, than that represented by the official records. This is one item only of material development by the race now so denounced by our philosophers and philanthropists. The Indians have performed the labor, and white people have got the bullions. It is true, the Indians have

labored under the pressure of body and soul-squeezing agencies, and if Christianity, freedom, humanity and knowledge are obstacles in the material development of a country, then our great republican leaders are right, in an economical point of view, in denouncing the liberals of Mexico and sustaining the bigotry and despotism that have ruled the country so long.

Another prominent error running through all the writings and speeches of leading republicans, opposed to the Mexican liberals and the Mexican treaty, is, wherein they attribute to what they term Mr. BUCHANAN's Mexican Policy, any desire or purpose on the part of that functionary to co-operate with the south in a plan for the extension of slavery. Mr. BUCHANAN is not amenable to any such charge, and it has not, in any of its bearings, the slightest foundation in fact. We have taken the liberty to comment on the *incompetency* of Mr. BUCHANAN's administration to achieve success in our relations with Mexico, by reason of its *ignorance* of the subject, and its lack of *moral power*. The truth is, the Mexican question had, in reality, overridden Mr. BUCHANAN's administration before Mr. McLANE was despatched to Mexico, and that administration has had little or no force, ability or power in bringing forth the new policy with Mexico now before the country, and which must be attributed to Mr. McLANE, who wrought it out under peculiar and extraordinary circumstances. When, therefore, the partizans of Mr. BUCHANAN bring forward the recognition of the constitutional government of Mexico and the Mexican treaty, as an evidence of his wisdom and far-reaching policy,—and when his enemies bring up the same measures as an evidence of his being in league with southern slavery extensionists,—both parties are indulging equally in egregious and absurd errors.

What contemptible features in American politics the elucidation of these matters discloses!

It is proper to state here, that we never have had one word of conversation on the subject of slavery with our Minister to Mexico, or any other party concerned in the recognition of the constitutional government, or in the negotiation of the treaty with that government. Whatever remarks appear in the

MEXICAN PAPERS relative to the subject of slavery, are made on our own responsibility, as a matter distinct from any intercourse we may have had with parties in Washington, or in Mexico.

If ever a great measure of general and vital importance to the whole country came before the United States Senate without the negro in it, we believe it was the McLANE-OCAMPO Treaty, but the negro was lugged in, and, of course, the ruin of the measure followed. The history of the treaty, which we have given, is sufficient evidence of the truth of what we assert relative to this point.

Another prominent error, *the most prominent of all*, in fact, promulgated by republican organs and orators is, wherein they represent with so much assurance and persistency, the possibility of extending slavery beyond its present limits, and the designs of the pro-slavery party in this respect, more especially with regard to the territory of New Mexico and the neighboring Republic of Mexico. There are a few of us who have had a practical experience in these countries, and we well know that all this rant and cant about the extension of slavery throughout those regions is *pure gammon*. We would say to all those "irrepressible conflict" apostles who are *sincerely* promulgating so great an error, if there are any such, "you are a hundred years behind the age, you have no knowledge of your subject, and you are wasting an immense amount of time, words, pens, ink, and paper."

We suppose the belief that slavery cannot go into the territories, is the foundation, in Mr. DOUGLAS' mind, of his doctrine of non-intervention; and we notice the orators of the BELL and EVERETT party assert that the character of our territories is now fixed for freedom, and that slavery cannot enter in. You are right on that point, gentlemen, and you ought not to be content with the mere belief and assertion relative to the fixed character of our territories, but follow up the subject closely. Take higher, bolder ground. Show how immensely free territory has gained over slave territory in these United States, and on this continent, since the adoption of our federal constitution. Get your evidence and prove that slavery has found

its limits on this continent, and though there is a pro-slavery party, there are, in reality, *no slavery extensionists*, because those who are called such *know full well how impossible it is to extend the institution*. Demand of the "irrepressible conflict" apostles why it is that Texas does not propose to divide herself up into states, as she has a right to do under the compact by which she came into the Union. Demand of those apostles how it was that California leaped into the Union a free State; and how it is that New Mexico, a territory that has been open to slavery twelve years has no slaves; and why it is that the law protecting slavery, passed by the local legislature a year and a half since, has had the effect to make apparent the impossibility of planting slavery in that territory, instead of giving birth to a single hope for the institution. Demand how it is that the territory of Arizona, open to slavery six years, has no slaves, and knows not the meaning of slavery from any experience of her own. Follow the subject into Mexico. *Show that the character of the adjoining Republic is fixed for freedom.*

Follow the subject still farther, and make it known how the Mexican question has completely overridden the Republican party, and that this momentous question which must be settled by the next administration, stands no chance in the hands of those Republican leaders who have no foreign policy, and who would assume power in Washington with even less moral weight on this question than the present administration.

The "irrepressible conflict" leaders dread these developments more than all else. Mr. SEWARD feels that they are already beginning to have their influence, and he is exerting himself to destroy the effect and keep up the sectional flame until after the election in November next. We detect this in every speech he makes on his western tour. Mr. SEWARD has clothed himself with an idea—the assumption that he is the incarnation of something like a Divine Essence—the spirit of progressive freedom on this continent, and many good people bow down to him as such.

You who take the opposite ground, and whose business it is, give the people light on this subject. **THE PEOPLE NEED**

LIGHT! They are ready to receive it. Every ray shed does some good, even at this late moment. Follow up the demagogues and fanatics, and puncture the wickedest political humbug that ever cast its dark and threatening shadow over a great and prosperous nation.

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THE
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THE MEXICAN QUESTION,
THE GREAT AMERICAN QUESTION.

WITH

Personal Reminiscences,

BY

EDWARD E. DUNBAR.

A SERIAL-ISSUED SEMI-MONTHLY.

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PERSONAL.

A THOROUGH knowledge of the city of Mexico, with its peculiarities of geographical position, variety of race, religion, finance, trade, and social life, is indispensable to a clear comprehension of the Mexican question. The ethnological, political, and religious forces now at work throughout the republic have their bases in the capital, and a fair and careful examination should be given to these also, in order that the subject may be fully understood in its length, breadth, and detail.

It is with this view of the matter that I am induced to give the following discursive remarks respecting the Mexican capital and its surroundings.

The city of Mexico is situated in latitude $19^{\circ} 25' 45''$ N., and longitude $103^{\circ} 45' 53''$ W. from Greenwich. Its elevation above the sea is 7,500 feet. The mean temperature of the city is 17° (R) 21° (cent.). The barometer varies between 23° and 23.2 English inches. The magnetic needle declines $8^{\circ} 30' 12''$ to the east. The prevailing winds are north-east and north.

The climate is delightful to the senses, but the highly rarified atmosphere does not prove favorable to the perfection of health, or the highest mental and physical development of man, according to the standard of the white race north of the isothermal line.

A stranger's first impressions of the city of Mexico are always of the most favorable nature. In the first place, one cannot reach the city without passing through regions of romantic interest, beauty, and grandeur, sufficient of themselves to excite the imagination to a most extravagant degree. Skies in which are exquisitely blended the soft and brilliant, a pellucid, bland atmosphere, circling mountains rising at intervals in stupendous volume, piercing the heavens with their perennial snow-capped peaks, and overlooking a valley of surpassing beauty in its carpeting of green, its lakes and meandering

streams, its villages and churches embosomed in groves and surrounded by richly-cultivated fields—all these dilate the eye of wonder and prepare the traveller of sound and sober judgment, even, to believe in the marvellous as he approaches the site of ancient Tenochtitlan. He enters the comparatively modern city of Mexico, and his eye ranges with pleasure through the long straight streets, lined with buildings of a light color and pleasing order of architecture; and here and there in his perambulations, he stops to admire a private residence or public building, which, in its extent, solidity, taste, and imposing grandeur, cannot fail to induce the belief that the people are far advanced in civilization and refinement.

The display of wares and merchandise in the shops of the traders is brilliant and attractive. Beautiful French porcelain, costly jewelry, articles of cunning device in gold and silver, heavy rich silks and gaudy-colored cottons fill the windows and shelves. Parades and processions, military and religious, are almost daily seen in the streets. Every afternoon the wealth and fashion of the city congregate on the *Paseo*, a long avenue or carriage-road, lined with ash, poplar, and willow, and running through the southern suburbs of the city. Here, Mexican gentlemen in gay costume and mounted on fine horses, pompously caparisoned, prance to and fro, or stand by the roadside to catch a glimpse of the ladies as they roll past in their equipages, the most of which are extravagant and showy. The scene is gay, brilliant, almost splendid; and here again the observing stranger is induced to believe that the people must be high in the scale of that social intercourse and refinement which make life profitable and agreeable. In his ordinary intercourse with the higher classes, the stranger encounters a dignified, gracious style of address and courtly manners. Fortuitously or otherwise, he may be the recipient of stylish civilities on the part of individual residents of the city, foreign or native. In short, the channels of observation ordinarily open to travellers and transient sojourners in the city of Mexico, are calculated to create in the mind a totally false opinion of the political, social, and moral condition of the people. It is a city of glittering, imposing superficialities.

These outside appearances have been most artfully contrived and maintained; and, up to the present time, they have thoroughly served the purpose for which they were contrived, namely, to cover up the revolting mass of rottenness and corruption that poisons religion, politics, and society in this the favorite centre of Spanish civilization on the American continent.

The valley of Mexico, near the centre of which the city of Mexico is situated, is some fifty miles long and thirty miles wide. This valley is supposed to be the enormous crater of an extinct volcano, covered over with a crust of earth of recent formation. The locality of the city of Mexico, originally an alkali lake, presents the same physical features in its foundation as New Orleans, being a flat marsh, and water everywhere found three or four feet below the surface. For this reason, many of the buildings have settled considerably, and earthquakes have done their share of mischief. The last severe one which occurred June 19th, 1858, cracked some of the largest and most substantial structures, and swayed others out of line.

Father MOTOLINIA, a monk, who was with CORTÉZ at the time of the conquest of Mexico, enumerates what he considers to have been the "ten plagues of New Spain," one of which was "the rebuilding of the city of Mexico," principally, it is to be supposed, by reason of the fearful amount of human suffering, and the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of human lives under the cruel and relentless power of the Spaniards, by which the reconstruction of the city was forced. It may also be inferred that even in the day of the conquerors, it became apparent that in some respects, a more favorable site for the foundation of the new city could have been found not very far distant from the old one—a site equally beautiful, and where greater permanency would have been attained with much less labor and expense.

The accounts relating to the population of the city of Mexico are interesting, and in the highest degree instructive. The building of the city by the Spaniards, on the old site of Tenochtitlan, dates eighty-eight years before the settlement of Virginia, and one hundred years before the landing of the Pilgrims

in Massachusetts. Accounts respecting the population of Tenochtitlan at the time of the conquest, like every thing else relating to that event and to the country, are very contradictory, and, in a great degree, unreliable. The Abbe CLAVIERO proves that the estimates of the population of the capital of the Aztec empire at the date of its fall, vary from 60,000 to 1,500,000! HUMBOLT concedes about 400,000. CORTEZ gives the number of inhabitants in the new city of Mexico, in 1524, three years after the conquest, as 30,000. In 1790, Count REVILLA GIGEDO ordered a census of the city, which gave 112,926 as the number of inhabitants at that date. In 1803, HUMBOLT classified the population of the capital as follows:—

White Europeans,	. . . . .	2,500
White Creoles,	. . . . .	65,000
Indigenous (copper colored),	. . . . .	33,000
Mustizos (mixture of whites and Indians),	. . . . .	26,500
Mulattoes,	. . . . .	10,000
Total,	. . . . .	137,000

The latest official accounts (1856) represent the population of the city as 185,000. I have seen no recent classification of the inhabitants of the city of Mexico after the manner of HUMBOLT. It is probable that something like the same relative proportion of races that existed when Humbolt wrote (1803), holds good now, with the exception of the mulattoes, this race having entirely disappeared. Very few mulattoes are found on the table lands of Mexico, and a full-blooded negro is seldom met with. It is an important fact, and one which appears as yet to have attracted little or no attention, that the climate in those regions is destructive to the negro race. This is, doubtless, owing to the highly rarified and dry atmosphere, which does not admit of that free perspiration indispensable to the full development of those perceptible emanations of a strong animal nature, so essential to negro perfection. There is an entirely wrong impression abroad relative to the amount of negro blood in the republic of Mexico. It is supposed to be considerable, whereas, in many of the states, its existence, even, is not known; and only in certain

very limited districts, of which Vera Cruz may be considered the principal, can negroes and mulattoes be found ; and even in those districts they are few in number.

On arriving in the city of Mexico, June, 1859, I found a surplus population numbering altogether something over 200,000. Many people from the surrounding country, who could afford the expense, had resorted thither for greater safety. An increased demand for the necessities of life brought in a great number of producers with their products, from all quarters; and under a ruinous system of depletion to the people at large, the streets were thronged, and "from hand-to-mouth" traffic was brisk. Owing to the deranged state of affairs occasioned by the civil war, many of the streets were in a very bad condition ; some, in fact, almost impassable for the want of repairs, and others blocked up by filth, reeking in offensive odors. Improvements of every kind were at a stand. That delightful place of public resort, the Alameda, appeared to be entirely neglected, and the grounds generally wore a slovenly and uninviting aspect. I understand that during the past year, the work of ruin has gone on more rapidly than ever, and that under the present order of things, dilapidated ruins and filth will, ere long, predominate in the recently beautiful and inviting capital of the Mexican republic.

It is a well-understood fact that when Spain exercised her dominion over Mexican territory, the city of Mexico was the centre of political, religious, financial, and social influence and power throughout all that portion of the Spanish possessions. The Spaniards were supreme throughout the length and breadth of the land. They held every office of the government; they monopolized the best trade of the country, and nearly all the active capital. Every avenue to political or social prominence of position was, for three centuries, most effectually closed to native-born Mexicans—Creoles, even, not being allowed to hold office, or to take part or lot in the management of the affairs of the country, either political, religious, or social. To such a degree of degradation were the native citizens of the country reduced, that the highest-born, best-educated, and most-refined Mexican lady would wed with

a common Spanish boor rather than with a native Mexican gentleman, in order to secure something like a social position, and escape the odium and oppression that fell to the lot of the cruelly-proscribed Mexican race. Hence, with the first revolution, arose the popular cry of, "*Death to the Gachupins!*" Who can wonder that the Mexicans hate the Spaniards with undying hatred?

Mexico became independent of Spain in 1821, and the federal compact upon which she presented herself before the world as a republic, was made in 1824. Here we come to the most important chapter in the modern history of Mexico—a chapter which, in my opinion, is but little understood.

Singular as it may appear, the separation of Mexico from Spain, or what is termed the independence of Mexico, was brought about by the Mexican clergy! But this fact must not induce any one to believe that the Mexican clergy, in a single instance, ever favored a movement that tended in the slightest degree to real independence and freedom. The regular clergy were the most active and bitter opponents of HIDALGO, and other revolutionary leaders, down to 1820, when intelligence was received in Mexico of the revolt of the Spanish army in the Isle of Leon, and the revolution in Spain. The republican feeling which manifested itself at this time in Spain startled the Mexican clergy; and when, at a later period, the viceroy, DON JUAN APODACA, received an order from the Cortes of Spain to proclaim the constitution to which FERDINAND had been compelled to swear, and to which was attached a decree *confiscating the property of the Mexican Church*, the clergy at once changed front, and the result was, the *Plan of Iguala*, proclaimed by ITURBIDE at the town of Iguala, February 12, which severed at once and forever the connection between the colonies and the mother country. The basis of the Plan of Iguala was that the *Mexican Church only should be tolerated in Mexico*.

A glimmering of the liberty and constitutional freedom enjoyed by the republic of the United States, had penetrated the Mexican country over which the cloud of despotism hung like the pall of night. The idea of liberty was abroad among

the people, but they had no power to carry it out. The Mexican nation was prostrate—beaten, battered, and sore under three centuries of iniquitous oppression, both civil and religious. Ten years of devastating, cruel civil war had intensified the troubles of the people. Ignorance and poverty prevailed, and crime was rampant. In the city of Mexico, it seemed as though the army of beggars, thieves, and assassins, known as *leperos*, would devour the little substance that remained.

What a state of affairs upon which to start the hazardous experiment of a democratic form of government, for which the people had had no training, such as was enjoyed by the people of the United States before they declared and gained their independence! The Mexican Church alone had the vitality and power to separate Mexico from Spain. This was accomplished by the church for the sole purpose of saving its property; and that ethnic institution was not only successful in this its first object, but it became a greater power than ever in the land. It is true that the democracy of Mexico subsequently secured the name and some of the forms of a republican government; but it was the shadow without the substance.

So long as Spain ruled Mexico, the Mexican Church communicated with the Church in Spain, and not with the See of Rome. It was several years subsequent to the independence of Mexico before the Pope ventured to officially recognize the Mexican Church, and dispatch his Nuncio to the incipient republic. Under the new order of things, the concentration of ecclesiastical power in the city of Mexico became greater than ever. New and more vigorous manifestations of the greed and lust of the clergy appeared, and they wielded their despotic power with increased force and effect. The superstitious feelings of the people were alone cultivated; the sale of indulgences, great and small, of holy bits of paper, ribbon, gold, etc., etc., was increased. The enormous fees demanded and enforced for the marriage ceremony, caused thousands and tens of thousands of men and women to cohabit together under no legal form or ceremony. The cost of the burial service was made so great as to require a poor man to labor for years in order to

secure that priestly adieu to his body on earth which, according to their creed, would insure his blissful resurrection in heaven. The clergy have held a preponderating influence in all civil as well as religious matters. They caused to be established for their benefit what are known as *fueros*, or special privileges, by which they are constituted a religious hierarchy and a moneyed oligarchy, managing their vast property and all their affairs, both secular and ecclesiastical, without being amenable to any law of the land. The Mexican Church holds over one hundred millions of real estate, and mortgages innumerable on real property, of which there is no public record, and on which no taxes are paid.

The Mexican Church, as a church, fills no mission of virtue, no mission of morality, no mission of mercy, no mission of charity. Virtue cannot exist in its pestiferous atmosphere; the code of morality does not come within its practice; it knows no mercy, and no emotion of charity ever moves the stony heart of that priesthood which, with an avarice that has no limit, filches the last penny from the diseased and dying beggar, plunders the widows and orphans of their substance, as well as their virtue, and casts such a horoscope of horrors around the death-bed of the dying millionaire, that the poor, superstitious wretch is glad to purchase a chance for the safety of his soul by making the church heir to his treasures.

This, in brief, is the Mexican Church as I comprehend it from personal observation, and to prove that I have observed aright, it is only necessary to point to the universal ruin and misery its rule has brought upon the country and the people. What nation on earth, I ask, could live and prosper under such a horrible incubus as this? The Mexican Church always has been, and so long as it exists, always will be the great element of evil in Mexico, and there will be no peace, prosperity, or progress in the country until this church is overthrown and totally destroyed, root and branch.

Having briefly defined the *status* of the church in Mexico, and the position it has occupied as the chief element of evil in the country, it now becomes necessary to explain how other powers, influences, or agencies conspired with the church at

the outset to turn the project of a republican form of government into a sham, and deliver the country over to plunder under a new system more despotic and destructive than the old.

The federate states of Mexico started on their political course under the name of a republic, and with some of the forms of a democratic government, in 1824, with VICTORIA as president. The leading foreign powers, except Spain, recognized the new republic, and dispatched their ambassadors thither; and the advocates of freedom throughout the world indulged in a hope for Mexico. VICTORIA served out the presidential term of four years. It was the first and last term ever filled to the end by any one of the incumbents of the office of president of the republic of Mexico. During the term of VICTORIA, and some three or four years subsequent, all those evils that have so afflicted the masses of the Mexican people, and given the republic such a bad name, took their distinct form and purpose. First and foremost among these was the Church. Then appeared the old Spanish leaven of iniquity, as developed by what remained of Gachupin capitalists and traders scattered throughout the country, with their bitter hatred of the Mexican race. Then arose a desperate and unprincipled host of conspirators against Mexican liberty, of the Spanish school of intrigue, backed by a thoroughly demoralized band of army officers without pay or occupation; and in 1826 the furious civil strife between the parties known as Escoceses and Yorkinos, names of Masonic lodges, broke out in the city of Mexico.

The new-fledged republic succeeded in effecting a loan of \$32,000,000 in England, and this, with the heavy investments of English capital in mining and trading enterprises, which took place in the early days of the republic, gave to British diplomacy an influence in the affairs of the Mexican people, superior to that of any other foreign power. A strict regard for historical truth compels me to state that British diplomacy in Mexico has, from first to last, next to the church, been one of the chief obstacles to the progress of liberal principles in that country. In this matter the British government has acted on a false conception of political necessity and commercial inter-

est, namely, opposition to the spread of the institutions and interests of the United States on this continent. •

In 1825 the American government dispatched the Hon. JOEL R. POINSETT as minister to Mexico. This gentleman made a good beginning, but, subsequent to his term, American diplomacy has made but a poor figure in the neighboring republic, having generally *followed* in the wake of despotic agencies—never *leading* in favor of freedom and progress, until the present moment.

Spain, at first, refused to recognize Mexican independence, and for years she used all her artifices to create discord in the new republic, with the hope of regaining her ancient colonies. But at last, in 1839, Spain recognized the federate government of Mexico, and Señor CALDERON DE LA BARCA was appointed minister to that government. The first envoy from Spain was received in the national capital with considerable friendly enthusiasm, which, however, proved but momentary, and relations between the two countries have been continued under feelings of cordial hatred but poorly concealed on both sides.

All that can be said of French diplomacy in Mexico is, that of late years, it has been conspicuous only in its efforts to sustain despotic rule, both civil and religious.

I have thus very briefly set forth the diplomacy of leading foreign powers in Mexico, as one of the principal agencies which has persistently and effectually opposed the successful development of a liberal, democratic form of government in the so-called republic.

Under the combined exertions and influence of all these despotic agencies, unfriendly to the regeneration of Mexico, arbitrary laws, regulating the foreign commerce and internal trade of the country, by which these branches of business were constituted the most odious and oppressive of monopolies, were established and perfected. A high tariff on the bulk of foreign importations was imposed, and these same goods, in passing to the interior, have always been subject to what are known as *alcavalas*, a series of interior duties, state, municipal, etc., which, in many instances, amount to more than two hundred per cent. of the original cost of the goods. Common brown

sheetings, the cotton goods most used by the poor Mexicans, and which can be purchased in our shops at retail for eight or ten cents per yard, are sold in the interior of Mexico at twenty-five to thirty-seven cents per yard.

This system of excessive charges on imported merchandise, in connection with the high rate of duty imposed on specie and bullion exported from the country, is another of the great evils under which Mexico has suffered. It has proved the most prolific source of corruption in the government of the country, from the highest dignitary of state down to the lowest municipal officer; and so great is the premium it offers to smuggling, that nearly the whole trade of the country is more or less of a contraband character. The system of smuggling in Mexico commenced, in fact, with the inauguration of the republic. In 1830, certain American merchants were the most prominent in this business, especially on the Pacific coast. In a few years the American smugglers were superseded by Europeans, who have since held the monopoly of the Mexican Pacific trade, based on the smuggling system. It sometimes happens that Mexican officials cannot be bribed, and a foreign merchant caught in false proceedings or downright smuggling, is arrested and treated according to law. Forthwith, a messenger is dispatched post haste, to the foreign minister in the city of Mexico, generally English, with a flaming account of high-handed outrages against the person and property of a foreign citizen by the barbarous Mexicans. The foreign minister in the city of Mexico always knows of some tender spot in the general government upon which an effectual pressure can be brought to bear, and, willingly or unwillingly, an official order is dispatched from head-quarters to the effect that ample remuneration for all damages and an humble apology for all insults must be accorded to the outraged foreign citizen; and sooner or later, the order is enforced. Bring the fact home to those parties that they are engaged in a contraband business and they do not deny it, but denounce the government that will establish a tariff so excessive, and affect to condemn and despise a people who will tolerate it. When, however, the people determine not to submit to this oppressive tariff any longer, and rise in support of a

liberal government, based on a constitution which abolishes the high tariff and establishes the principles of free trade, where do you find those foreign contraband traders? You find them, and the ministers of their respective governments, resident at the national capital, in league with the most active and powerful foes of that same constitutional government of the people which would do away with all premium and excuse for smuggling, and relieve the country of one of the greatest evils under which it suffers. The reason for this course on the part of these foreign contraband traders is obvious. A material reduction of the Mexican tariff would break up the monopoly they enjoy. A few of these influential foreign traders, with their respective ministers, resident in the capital, regulate, in fact, the entire commerce and trade of the country. They sustain a high tariff and other hindrances to general business, by which means they create a monopoly. They wrong the government out of its just revenues, derange its finances, and impoverish its treasury, while, as powerful monopolists, they exact from the people extravagant prices for their wares and merchandise. Even the European ambassadors, resident in Mexico, frequently take advantage of this state of affairs and of their position, to obtain a goodly share of the plunder. It is but a few years since that the French minister in the city of Mexico, imported carriages under the seal of the legation to such an extent, that one evening a mob, composed mostly of those whose interests were seriously injured by these importations, broke open the repository of the French minister, dragged therefrom his stock in trade, some sixty carriages, and burned them on the public Plaza! The English and French ministers who recently left Mexico, it is said with large fortunes made in that country, are accused by their own countrymen located in the capital, of having been extensively engaged in this species of contraband transactions, by which large quantities of merchandise have been brought into the city, to the injury of its general and regular trade.

Suppose Lord Lyons, English minister, resident in Washington, should enter English broadcloths, duty free, in the port of New York, under the seal of his legation, to such an extent

as to injure the trade of the regular dealers in the article. Suppose M. MERCIER, French minister, resident in Washington, should enter French carriages or French millinery goods duty free, in the port of New York, under the seal of his Legation, to such an extent as to injure the regular business in those articles. Strange and unaccountable as it may appear, these things are done by the ministers of the high and mighty European Powers, resident in Mexico; and the half is not told. But are not such facts as these alone sufficient to prove how utterly abased Mexico has been by that foreign horde of sordid and vicious harpies who, as Christians, arrogate to themselves the right to fasten their Christian fangs—none are sharper, none penetrate deeper—upon the poor, benighted Mexican people, and revel in the life-blood of the nation?

It is well known that Mexico owes a heavy foreign debt, principally to the English. The Mexican government stipulated in convention to set aside a large portion, some forty-eight per cent. of the duties received at the custom-houses, in payment of this foreign debt. The system of smuggling carried on by foreigners on the Pacific coast, and enforced by British men-of-war, deprives the government of nearly all revenue in that quarter, while in the Gulf ports, commerce is crippled, and the revenue of the government is, at certain periods, cut down to a low figure, by the irregular proceedings and hard exactions of foreign ministers, consuls, and traders. A thorough exposure of the universal system of plunder to which Mexico is subjected in her business relations by foreign officials and traders, and a few capitalists, foreign and native, who mostly reside in the capital, would prove that the government of that country is defrauded out of more than three quarters of its lawful revenue; and yet, when that government cannot respond for its foreign debts, these same foreign ministers denounce, threaten, and bully, and on recent occasions, they have even ordered their fleets to open fire upon Vera Cruz, the principal seaport on the Gulf, and exact payment from the constitutional government there located, at the cannon's mouth. Where is the nation on the face of the earth that is made to suffer such abominable treatment as this?

I have thus briefly set forth the prominent evils under which Mexico has writhed and groaned in the agony of despair, since she attempted the experiment of a republican form of government.

These evils may be recapitulated thus:

First. The church, holding its occupancy in the souls of the people to the exclusion of every moral instinct, every virtuous sentiment, every well-grounded hope in the future, either in this world or the next.

Second. The old Spanish leaven of iniquity, as developed by what remained of Gachupin capitalists and traders scattered throughout the country, and who are, with rare exceptions, cordial haters or despisers of the Mexican race, and determined foes to Mexican freedom.

Third. A desperate and unprincipled body of conspirators (generally creoles or half-breeds) against Mexican liberty, of the old Spanish school of intrigue, backed by a thoroughly demoralized band of army officers, without pay or occupation.

Fourth. The foreign debt.

Fifth. Foreign diplomacy, in which the English have held the most commanding position.

Sixth. The high tariff established on foreign importations, the *alcavalas* or duties imposed on goods going into the interior, and other hindrances calculated to obstruct the free course of general business.

Seventh. Smuggling, and the universal system of corruption it engenders for purposes of plunder, under the auspices, principally, of foreign officials and traders.

The foregoing enumeration comprehends the most potent agencies of evil which have so fearfully scourged the Mexican people, and driven them into this last great struggle, which they maintain with all the painful energy and self-sacrificing spirit of despairing and expiring nationality. In view of the narration of accumulated oppressions that is herein given, the most common mind ought to be able to thoroughly comprehend the nature of the struggle now going on in Mexico. As these oppressions have become more and more exacting, onerous, and destructive, the suffering masses of the people have,

from time to time, made desperate efforts to relieve themselves. The whole history of the Mexican republic is but the narration of short-lived, spasmodic efforts on the part of the poor and scattered masses to overthrow that powerful combination of church, finance, and trade, that grinds them in the dust. I will not enter into details respecting the past revolutions of Mexico, but be content with particularizing the one now in progress. This particular revolution, it may be said, dates back to the overthrow of the dictator SANTA ANNA, in 1855, when General ALVAREZ, of the head of the liberal forces, proclaimed the *Plan of Ayutla*, and carried on the government of the country until the adoption of the present constitution, under which COMONFORT was elected in 1857.

The following is a synopsis of this constitution, upon which the liberal cause in Mexico is based, and by which the JUAREZ government maintains its authority:

SYNOPSIS OF THE LIBERAL CONSTITUTION OF 1857.

First. The establishment of a constitutional federal government in the place of a military dictatorship.

Second. Freedom and protection to slaves that enter the national territory.

Third. Freedom of religion.

Fourth. Freedom of the press.

Fifth. The nationalization of the \$200,000,000 of property held by the clergy, from which, and other sources, the church derives an annual income of not less than \$20,000,000.

Sixth. The subordination of the army to the civil power, and the abolition of military and ecclesiastical *fueros*, or special tribunals.

Seventh. A reduction of the tariff, the stoppage of the system of exceptional permits, and the entire abolition of *alcavala* or interior duties; also, the abolition of passports.

Eighth. The negotiation of commercial treaties of the fullest scope and liberal character, particularly with the United States, and including reciprocity of trade on our frontiers.

Ninth. The colonization of Mexico by the full opening of every part of the country to immigration, and the encourage-

ment of foreign enterprise in every branch of industry, particularly in mining and in works of internal improvement.

It must be admitted, by every fair and candid mind, that this constitution strikes at the root of those great evils which have proved so fatal to Mexican prosperity, advancement, and happiness. Then why not wish this suffering people success in their efforts to rise from their misery and degradation, and secure those blessings which, according to our own religious creed and civil declaration, are the inalienable rights of all made in the image of God? Why must the entire civilized world persist in re-echoing the cry of bigoted and heathenish priests, unprincipled foreign diplomats, and soulless, monopolizing foreign capitalists and traders, that the Mexican liberals, comprehending nine tenths of the entire population, are thieving, murdering Indians, barbarously radical in their purposes, entirely ignorant of the principles of liberty, and wholly unfit to enjoy its blessings? The result of all this is, that the leading European Powers and the United States practically sustain the infamous despotism of the Church-Miramón government, as set forth in the Plan of Tacubaya, proclaimed by ZULOAGA at the head of a regiment of soldiers, December, 1857, and of which the following is a synopsis:

SYNOPSIS OF THE PLAN OF TACUBAYA PROCLAIMED BY ZULOAGA.

First. The inviolability of all church property and church revenues, and the re-establishment of former exactions.

Second. The re-establishment of the *fueros*, or special rights of the church and of the army. Under these *fueros*, the military and clergy are responsible only to their own tribunals.

Third. The restoration of the Roman Catholic religion as the sole and exclusive religion of Mexico.

Fourth. The censorship of the press.

Fifth. The maintenance of a high tariff, the restoration of the oppressive system of *alcavala*, or interior duties, and the continuance of special monopolies.

Sixth. The exclusive system with regard to foreign immigration, confining it solely to immigrants from Catholic countries.

Seventh. The overthrow of the constitution of 1857, and the establishment of an irresponsible central dictatorship, subservient solely to the church.

Eighth. If possible, the restoration of a monarchy in Mexico, or the establishment of a European protectorate.

In the synopsis of the liberal constitution of 1857 and the synopsis of the Plan of Tacubaya proclaimed by ZULOAGA, December, 1857, as herein set forth, the two parties now struggling for the mastery in Mexico are brought face to face and held up to the view of the world. One is the party of liberty and progress, the other the party of despotism and retrogression, and it is incredible that the Christian and enlightened Powers of earth should sustain the latter, and render the country occupying the geographical centre of the business world, the sport of those despotic and bigoted agencies which these same Christian and enlightened Powers claim to have long since cast out from their own borders. This extraordinary state of things can only be accounted for in the fact that foreign citizens residing in Mexico and their governments believe that the Almighty does not, as yet, desire this country should be allowed to enjoy those christianizing and humanizing influences under which they claim to have been born and raised.

I have thus given some general facts relative to the central and largest city of the Mexican republic, and delineated, fully as these limited pages will admit, those disturbing and destroying influences which ramify from this geographical and political centre to the outlying states. It must be acknowledged that one of these destroying influences has, more particularly since the construction of the republic, materially diminished throughout those states not immediately connected with the capital. In those states, the power of the priesthood, once supreme, has been gradually but steadily dying out, by which process, the power of the city of Mexico in the affairs of the nation has, at last, become so reduced, that widespread revolution maintained by those outlying states, is, it would

appear, about to triumph over the capital and the neighboring districts which are under its immediate control, and which constitute altogether, what I denominate the PAGAN DISTRICT OF THE *Republic* OF MEXICO. An account of the extent and the characteristics of this Pagan district may be interesting and instructive at the present time. The following is the result of my personal observation :

THE PAGAN DISTRICT OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

The section of country comprised within what may be termed the Pagan district of the republic of Mexico, is immediately contiguous to the city of Mexico, and its geographical limits, which are not very extensive, may be as distinctly defined on the maps as those of any state or territory in the republic. An accurate conception of the locality and extent of this district may be formed by taking the map of Mexico and drawing a line from Perote south, to Tehuacan, on the northern side of the state of Oajaca; thence west through the state of Puebla to Amolaque, then circling through the state of Guerrero to Zacualpan, thence north along the eastern limit of the state of Michoacan to Queretaro, thence east through the state of Queretaro to Zimapan, and then down the western boundary of the state of Vera Cruz to Perote.

These boundaries comprehend an area equal to the state of South Carolina, and they enable one to comprehend in how small a space, as compared with the whole country, are concentrated the evils of three hundred and forty years of a false religion and a wicked government. This is the district, originally the most thickly settled by the Spaniards, and the people were, consequently, more degraded and oppressed than those of any other portion of the country. It is the most populous district of the republic, and here also lies the principal wealth of the church, and its power, though disputed in some localities even within the limits named, is, in the main, supreme. The evidence of the rule of the church is to be seen in the state of society, the appearance of the inhabitants, the number and style of the religious edifices, and the performances of priests and people. If a mother has a daughter whom she loves, she keeps the sharp-

est look-out for her ghostly confessor and priestly guide; and the *Dueña* system of watching the women of old Spain was never carried out so strictly as it is in the central district of Mexico. As a general rule, it may be said that any woman whose virtue or position is worth preserving, is never beyond the reach of a rigid surveillance five minutes out of the twenty-four hours. At the church doors and in the highways, you are pained and disgusted by the sight of the lame, blind, deformed, and diseased, standing, sitting, and lying, some on litters, and demanding charity "for the love of God, your mother's milk, and the Most Holy Virgin Maria."

Funciones solemnes, or other religious performances may be witnessed in the principal towns and cities almost daily. You enter a church and invariably encounter a motley crowd, exhaling unseemly odors, and dispensing small vermin on every side. There is a small sprinkling of well-dressed, well-appearing individuals found in these gatherings; but filth, disease, deformity, brutishness, and abject heathenism are the prevailing characteristics of these assemblages and processions. It is impossible for an individual of respectable education and ordinary delicacy of feeling and moral sense—whether man or woman—to join a crowd in one of their *Pagodas* or *Jos* temples, called churches, without feeling ineffable disgust. No one will deny that these structures, especially in the largest cities, evince an imposing and noble order of architecture; and here all that is good, respectable, and decent, ends. Some of the cathedrals and principal churches have considerable solid gold and silver about their altars; but the prevailing style of the interior fitting up is of the tinsel, flash, and tawdry order, interspersed with miserable daubs of paintings and images, intending to represent Jesus Christ, saints, virgins, and martyrs. The style of raiment borne by these figures varies from a wisp of cloth, such as is worn by the wild Indians, to that of full military, fancy ball, dress, or Indian costume—a mixture to suit vulgar, vitiated tastes, and minister to superstitious feelings. This is the interior aspect of the Mexican Church at the present day, and it must be said that of late years there has been a slight improvement. Fifty years ago, there was in one of the churches in the

city of Mexico an image of the most ghastly and horrid appearance, intended to represent the Saviour. Its eyes were worked by wires, and the large, blood-shot balls were made to roll in the most frightful manner whenever it was thought necessary to inspire terror. This hellish contrivance proved too much for the sensibilities of a portion of the worshippers, especially women *enciente* and of a nervous temperament. Several cases of insanity occurring under its influence, it was finally removed, and now lies, with other rubbish, in an old stone house in the village of Guadaloupa, near the capital.

The strange heathen mummary, a species of Nagualism, that passes in Mexico under the name of Christianity, may be accounted for in the fact that the adventurous, conquering Spaniards, superstitious, fanatical, and vicious themselves, encountered in Mexico a superstitious, fanatical, but comparatively *virtuous* people. The Spaniards found the mythological system of the natives all-powerful, paramount, in fact, to every thing else in their social organization; nevertheless, fathers of the Catholic Church, with the sword in one hand and the cross in the other, made light work of forcing the masses to undergo the slight formal process considered necessary to release them from what they termed the darkness of paganism, and bring them under the benign, purifying, and revivifying influences of Christianity. But now nearly three and a half centuries have passed, and it is found that the Christianity introduced into Mexico by the Spaniards has adapted itself to the paganism of the natives, and obliterated their original virtues by engrafting upon them the worst vices of the conquering race.

In this Pagan district we now find the heart of the Mexican nation wasting away at last in the rot of ages, and yet, in its wild and expiring pulsations, endeavoring to sustain the flow of vice and corruption throughout the land. Here, beginning with the priest, and ending with the political and financial *intrigante*, we find a concentration of corruption and diabolism which will continue to fulfil its mission of evil until blotted from existence by something of a higher, superior nature. With here and there a noble exception, all above the poor laboring Indian, who is but little above the brute, are worse

than useless. There are but two classes here. One is composed of honest fools, without energy or individuality enough to make their mark for good or evil; the other class is made up of vicious villains, ready for any species of villainy. All the ignorance, heathenism, vices, and worst propensities of the Spanish and Indian races combined, have settled in the form of a deleterious sediment on that fairest portion of God's creation, the Pagan district of Mexico; and there does not exist among the masses inhabiting this district, except in the women, neither in their religion, their politics, or their social system—in short, there is nothing in their physical or moral construction upon which to rest a hope for improvement or reform. Here the line between the central or Pagan district of Mexico and the outlying states is distinctly drawn. In the latter we find a people less imbued with superstition, less demoralized, and both Indian and mixed races, of a superior nature mentally and physically. These are the liberals of what is called the *republic* of Mexico. They form the liberal party of the country, and in this party the germ of progress, improvement, good government, and usefulness, has taken root. This is the party which, for more than three years, has been continually rising up at all points in the outlying Mexican states, and, actuated by the most thoroughly patriotic motives, they have nobly and courageously met their oppressors at every point, and followed them to their strongholds, determined that the revolution shall never cease until those evil combinations which exist in the Pagan district are completely broken up, and their power to oppress the country is entirely destroyed.

MITLA LETTER.

CITY OF MEXICO, July 1, 1859.

I have created a sensation, and my arrival in this city was the cause. Rumor had stated in advance that an American was *en route*, clothed with some official character to the Mira-

mon government; and being the only American who had arrived in this city from abroad since the Tacubaya massacre, and since the recognition of the Juarez government by the American minister, the excitable portion of the community was all agog to obtain a knowledge of the stranger and his business. Some characterized him as an envoy or commissioner, some as the agent of *filibusteros*, and it really seemed as though the more superstitious part of the community regarded him the forerunner of an earthquake. The newly-arrived American citizen had the extreme satisfaction of overhearing, on several occasions, the probability of his arrest discussed; and once, while quietly eating his dinner in a restaurant, he heard it stated that the said American citizen had actually been arrested and imprisoned.

Though every exertion was made to ascertain whether my arrival was likely to endanger the *independencia de la republica*, and a strict watch was kept on all my movements for several days, no overt act was committed. I entered the tiger's den (*Palacia Nacional*), took out a paper of security, visited churches and other public buildings, mingled with high officiating pagans, military officers, soldiers, and people of every sort and grade, without let or hindrance.

These particulars are given in evidence of the feverish state of the public mind in this city relative to every thing of American name or nature.

All regular correspondence between this city and Vera Cruz having been broken up, and reliable information being scarce, I was plied with all sorts of questions, by natives and foreigners, as to what the American minister and the Juarez government were doing in Vera Cruz, and what might be the ultimate purposes of the United States. The larger portion of those who approached me were favorably inclined to the liberal cause, but I was struck by the universal desire expressed that the American minister had visited the city of Mexico before taking any step in the matter. His recognition of the Juarez government was generally approved, but each one seemed to have a *plan* of his own, and wished the recognition coupled with certain stipulations that would bring to

bear certain influences on particular interests. Every one here has a plan of his own. It is the greatest country for *plans* under the sun, owing, perhaps, to something peculiar in the atmosphere.

One prominent individual inquired whether Mr. McLANE was a man of fortune. I replied, "I believe he is—why do you ask?"

"I was thinking," said the gentleman, "how he might have been influenced by offers that would have been made to him by interested parties here, had he visited this city before recognizing the Juarez government."

"What kind of offers do you mean?" I demanded.

"Pecuniary offers; offers of a hacienda, a sugar estate, land speculation, city property, or something of that sort," was the reply. "Do you mean to say that this is the course the party here would have adopted with the American minister?" "Of course I do," remarked the gentleman; "this is the way all these things are done here." Too true. According to all the evidence before me, this is the way matters have been arranged with most of the foreign ministers since Mexico became a republic.

It now appears as though the prompt, bold, and unbiased action of the American minister at Vera Cruz, would prove the most successful piece of American diplomacy that has occurred for many years. It is universally acknowledged that, if the policy of the United States, now so decidedly marked out, had been adopted years ago, the present evil state of affairs would never have been known. But it is, doubtless, for the best, that things are as they are. The evils under which Mexico suffers are now fully developed; the principles which actuate the different parties are becoming understood by all the world, and better than all, the shoe pinches now where it never pinched before. Capitalists and mercantile men of every grade, many of them thoroughly unscrupulous, not caring how many throats are cut, how much blood is made to flow, or how rank the corruption, provided they get their cent. per cent., are now wincing under the pressure, and for the first time, their interests are driving them into the belief that law and order should be sus-

tained, and that to live here with any comfort, safety, and profit, pronunciamientos and revolutions must end. The distinct and decided action of the United States minister, so unexpected, because so different from the policy heretofore pursued, has wrought out this great change. Notwithstanding the English and French ministers are, to all appearances, upheld by their respective governments, the *prestige* and influence of these officials are destroyed. From the day the recognition of the constitutional government by the American minister became known in this city, every art and device that the leaders of the church faction, aided by Satan and the English and French ministers, could suggest, were adopted, to nullify its effect, but all to no purpose. The constitutional government and the American minister at Vera Cruz, pay no attention to the desperate and spasmodic efforts of the faction here, but, according to report, are deliberately negotiating a treaty. The stipulations of a treaty, said to have been framed by the Juarez government and the American minister, received in this city a few days since, caused considerable excitement. Though well satisfied that there is no truth in the report, that the constitutional government has stipulated that 6000 armed Americans shall enter the country, it is, nevertheless, interesting to notice the effect of this report.

The bare thought of armed Americans coming into the country strikes the army, clergy, and Spaniards with terror, while it is generally deprecated by the masses of the Mexican people. The latter prefer that American power and influence should extend through peaceful channels, and do not wish to see an American army within their borders, either as friends or foes. But many of the foreign residents, except the Spaniards, desire armed intervention by the United States, and that immediately. Some, under the pressure of a belief in the "manifest destiny" of the United States, rather than any particular desire of their own, advocate the annexation of the whole country to the great northern republic. Others think an armed police, composed of from five to ten thousand Americans, would regulate matters, while others suggest that the United States, England, and France should take the country

in hand under a tripartite agreement. Those foreigners who have resided here for a long time do not express the slightest confidence in the ability of either party to maintain order and regenerate Mexico. They came to a country, the fundamental law of which is that the *religion* of the *Mexican Church* only shall be tolerated. They have lived here for years, witnessing the chronic disorders of the country, and at the same time accumulating great interests. Now that the result every intelligent mind might look for sooner or later has arrived, they are ready for any kind of intervention that will save them harmless. This is all very natural, but there is one point in this matter that astonishes me more than all else. It is that these foreigners, who really appear to be intelligent and well disposed, scarcely allude to the Mexican Church as the great cause of evil in Mexico. Though not participating in its paganism, corruption, vice, nonsense, and flummery, daily contact with all this appears to have made them callous to the fact that the chief and too successful effort of this vicious and retrogressive church has been to demoralize the people and crush their liberal aspirations. These foreigners appear to be blind to the existence of the real evil in the first place, and in the next place, they do not take into consideration the fact that, as yet, the liberal party has not had sufficient power to purge the country of this evil. The opinion of these foreigners, therefore, I consider of no great value.

According to present appearances, the Mexican problem is working itself out thoroughly, truthfully, and safely. It is necessary for the United States to sustain the liberal party, make treaties with it which provide for freedom of religion, a moderate tariff and free commercial intercourse, and hold the country to these, without regard to the retrogressive faction, the foreign ministers, or any one else; and in due time, Mexico will be one of the most peaceable, prosperous, and happy countries in the world.

MITLA.

PUBLIC OPINION ON MEXICO.

In the previous numbers of the MEXICAN PAPERS we have given, in exposition of existing public opinion on Mexico, in Europe and the United States,

First. A paper from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, published in Paris.

Second. An article from the *London Saturday Review*.

Third. Extracts from the *Atlantic Monthly*, published in Boston; extracts from the *New York Tribune*; an extract from the speech of the Hon. FRANK BLAIR, and items of correspondence from the *New York Tribune* and the *Philadelphia North American*.

It is curious to note the entire unanimity of statement and sentiment which characterizes these published remarks on Mexico, gathered as they are from localities so widely apart, and so decidedly dissimilar. By this eclectic method, we are enabled to ascertain with accuracy the estimation in which Mexico is held by the leading nations of the world.

We now inquire, is public opinion on Mexico, as it exists with these nations, correct? It is safe to assume that public opinion is more frequently wrong than right. In the present condition of the world, public opinion is more generally founded upon error than upon truth. Error is violence to nature, hence we have nothing but a succession of contests, both moral and physical, induced by an erroneous and vitiated public opinion. Truth already pervades nature. Truth has nothing to gain in nature. Truth conserves, error destroys. Public opinion quite as frequently proves itself deserving of contempt and execration as it does of confidence and support. When COLUMBUS sailed from Palos on his first voyage to discover a direct and short passage to the East Indies, public opinion did not favor the enterprise, and one of the principal reasons for this disfavor was the belief that the daring navigator would sail so far *down hill* that he never could sail back again. At the present time, it is public opinion that negro slavery can be established in Mexico. Public opinion is just as much in error on this point as it was relative to naviga-

tion in the days of COLUMBUS and the particular hazard he was likely to run in taking his course for the west over an unknown ocean. It occasionally occurs that a single individual, as in the case of COLUMBUS, with no counsel except such as he draws from his own deep and truthful inspirations, will encounter the public opinion of the whole world and come off victorious. LOUIS NAPOLEON seized power in defiance of public opinion; he has consolidated his power in spite of public opinion; and in the development of liberal, progressive ideas, he has disappointed and overcome the public opinion of all nations. We believe that the present ruinous political conflict going on in the United States is based on a vitiated public opinion. It is a contest over a hypothetical negro going into hypothetical regions, and constitutes the fancy stock of a swarm of speculating politicians. The existing public opinion on Mexico, to which we have made such extended reference, we conceive to be as erroneous as any of the silly, mischievous, and exploded dogmas of other days. It is worthy of note that this public opinion on Mexico thus set forth is based on *prejudice of race*. This sentiment is remarkably distinct in all the articles and extracts we have published, and it is a curious feature of the times that the *negro*-philanthropists of the United States should be foremost, by word and deed, in proving their hatred of the *Mexican race*.

The causes of the erroneous views that prevail with regard to Mexico, like the evils under which the country suffers, are co-existent with the discovery and conquest of the country by the Spaniards. In the first place, we regard nearly all the ancient history of Mexico extant, as false history;* and it may be said that PRESCOTT, in our day, has burnished up, and given glitter and point to erroneous Mexican history of the olden time. No one has followed up the exaggerations, inconsistencies, and palpable errors of the early Spanish historians more faithfully than PRESCOTT. No one has done more to cloud the perceptions of the present generation, or to throw obstacles in the way of a just comprehension of the Mexican

* We believe LAS CASAS' writings contain more truth than is to be found in all other known Spanish history of Spanish America.

people, their present condition, and the nature of the conflict now raging in that country, than our own favorite historian. This assertion may appear presumptuous, but the evidence will eventually appear. PRESCOTT's well-known honesty, industry, singleness of purpose, combined with his ability as a writer, have given to his "*Conquest of Mexico*"—which is nothing more than a beautiful, high-wrought romance—all the weight of truthful, matter of fact history. PRESCOTT concedes the christianization of Mexico, and his writings are eulogized by Spain. On these premises alone it is safe to conclude that our standard work on the Conquest is unreliable as a history. The author of that work never visited Mexico. Had he personally studied the country of which he treats, it is more than probable that he would have brought forth a very different work. But our historian states that his principal source of information in Mexico was SEÑOR CALDERON DE LA BARCA, the first minister sent out by Spain to the Mexican republic. Without intending the least disrespect to that gentleman, we will state that, in our opinion, Mr. PRESCOTT went to the wrong party for material suitable to his work. A *Gachupin* in Mexico may be, in some instances, instrumental in furnishing records, etc., which, in themselves, are facts; but that the author of a historical work of such importance should avail himself of the services of an agent, incompetent by birth and education to act impartially in the matter, must be considered an error in judgment, to say the least. PRESCOTT was of too gentle a nature, too delicate and feminine in his mental composition, to write the true history of Spanish conquest and rule on the American continent. That history, faithfully and truthfully written, would present the most infernal epoch in human affairs that ever took place in the annals of time. In that terrible display of the worst passions of man and its awful results upon innocent and defenceless nations, there is nothing in ancient or modern times that can compare with it. It seems as though the insatiate demons of fire, rapine, and murder were let loose upon this fair portion of creation to torment, devastate, and annihilate without stint or measure. The evil of their ways remained after them, and the blighted remnants of Spanish-

American peoples now struggling in the painful throes of internal suffering, are but endeavoring to cast off the lingering ills fastened upon them by their *Christian* conquerors.

We believe, however, that new light is beginning to break upon this great subject. It is certainly exciting increased attention, and quite recently, we have, to our great surprise and gratification, detected high authorities telling the truth relative to Spanish America, we are almost inclined to believe, inadvertently. An instance at hand is the *London Quarterly Review* for October, which contains a very interesting paper on the *Brazilian Empire*. This paper commences with the following remarks :

"The early history of South America* must forever stand out pre-eminent in the records of human wickedness. If the discovery of the New World is the great romance of history, its settlement and conquest form one of its deepest tragedies, for the subjugation of some of the finest regions of the globe, by the most advanced and powerful nation of Europe in the fifteenth century, unfortunately fell to the lot of men upon whom the multiplying villainies of nature swarmed in unwonted profusion; and the countries which long formed the transatlantic empire of Spain have, from the day on which she first planted her foot in the New World to the present time, never ceased to present the most painful contrast between the benevolent dispositions of Providence for the happiness of its creatures and the power of man to counteract them."

This is certainly strong, clear, and pointed language, and it fully sustains our publication in one of its fundamental propositions.

We have also another high authority at hand, no less than the *North British Review* for November, which, in an article containing much valuable information, and entitled "*The Spanish-American Republics*," touches upon the great *cause* of evil in those republics. Speaking of the Spanish-American countries, this *Review* says :

"We find in them the elements of the same antagonistic parties as have long been contending in the older Catholic countries of Europe; a priestly party, jealous of all liberty, and striving to bring the community more than ever under

* European writers generally, in speaking of the South American continent, South America, South American Republics, etc., usually refer to the whole of Spanish America, including Mexico and Central America. They appear to regard the northern boundary of Mexico as the dividing line between North and South America.

the influence of Rome; and, on the other hand, a party struggling for freedom, giving utterance to noble sentiments, that shine the brighter for the dark firmament on which they gleam, and encouraging hope for a better day than those republics have as yet seen."

If these views could but prevail, and be acted upon by enlightened nations, then, indeed, a brighter day would dawn upon these republics. It is encouraging to see the subject treated thus by the high-toned and powerful British publications from which we have quoted. The article in the *North British Review* has considerable to say relative to the struggle between the liberal and church party in Chili, and frequent reference is made to the writings of J. T. LASTARRIA, an able Chilian lawyer and statesman, who has made himself famous in his own country by his powerful advocacy of civil and religious liberty.

There are four powerful causes that combine to create a false public opinion on Mexico and the Spanish-American countries generally. These are—

First. Prejudice of race.

Second. Erroneous history.

Third. The belief that Christianity has ever prevailed in Spanish-America.

Fourth. The church, or retrogressive party, throughout the Spanish-American countries, being too exclusively in possession of the means of manufacturing public opinion.

It will be conceded that the most powerful of these causes which work adversely to a sound and correct public opinion on Spanish America, is *prejudice of race*. The other adverse causes which we have enumerated in this matter are artificial, weak, and transitory, compared with that deep-rooted prejudice which, from its uncharitable, bigoted, and destructive nature, arrays color against color, blood against blood, the strong against the weak, the rich against the poor. Here, indeed, we have an "irrepressible conflict" which rages with such intensity all the world over, that the struggle of politicians in the United States, based on an assumed "irrepressible conflict" between two systems of labor, sinks into insignificance. This element of evil in the public mind, arising from prejudice of

race, can only be removed by the more perfect working of what are known as Christian principles, professed by the leading nations of the world, who, like the Jews of old, consider themselves the elect, and, under Providence, the means of working out a happy destiny for the whole human family.

IS MEXICAN NATIONALITY DESTINED TO BE EXTINGUISHED?

UNLESS some sudden change takes place in the politics of the world, then, indeed, the ethnological, religious, political, and financial forces, which now combine and work together harmoniously for the destruction of the Mexican nation, will do their perfect work, and the evil star that has guided the destinies of Mexico is fore-ordained to prevail, even at no very distant day.

When we review all those malign influences opposed to the prosperity, the happiness, the very existence of Mexico—when we look upon the united front they present, and comprehend their power, consolidated by time, prestige, and union, it would seem as though every effort in opposition to this power of evil is but useless labor for an unavailable end; and as though an inscrutable Providence required the sacrifice of the Spanish-American race, in fulfilment of its own divine purposes. But every truthful mind must, in reality, revolt at such a conviction. The evil passions of man may bring about this dire result, and if so, then those who declare that the principles of common humanity are beginning to regulate the affairs of nations must be considered crack-brained enthusiasts—talkers of sound and not sense—and that the moral tone of all the leading communities in the world is subservient to what appears to be an immediate material interest.

When we review the present condition of the Spanish-American countries generally, with reference to the bearing of

this great question upon their various nationalities, the BRAZILIAN EMPIRE stands out from the dark and forbidding picture in bold, colossal, and pleasing proportions. That empire, originally a dependency of Portugal, was, under the rule of that country, reduced to a condition, more abject even than any of the Spanish-American colonies. In no portion of the American continent was the slave-trade carried on so extensively as with Brazil. Early in the present century, and before the severance of the colony from Portugal, it is estimated that fifty thousand blacks were annually shipped from the coast of Africa to Brazil. It is, however, proper to state that, for a long period, this trade, by means of the factory at Lisbon, was in the hands of the English. It may also be said that in no part of the world was the system of slavery attended with greater barbarity than in Brazil. It was considered cheaper in the plantations to use up a slave in five or six years, and buy another, than to take care of him.

The bigoted and intolerant Roman Catholic Church of the sixteenth century—the curse of Spanish America—was sustained with greater vigor, and more pomp and splendor than in Italy.

The general system on which Portugal ruled her vast dependency created a stupendous commercial, trading, and manufacturing monopoly. The article on the "*Brazilian Empire*," in the *London Quarterly Review*, October, 1860, to which we are indebted for some valuable facts, states: "All intercourse with foreigners was prohibited by the most rigid laws; and if a relaxation of jealousy was occasionally permitted in favor of foreign nations in close alliance with the mother country, the passengers and crews of such ships as were allowed to enter the waters of Rio, or any of the Brazilian ports, were placed under the *surveillance* of a military guard. *The colonists were not allowed to produce any article which the mother country could supply.* Even HUMBOLT, in travelling in South America for purely scientific purposes, was not allowed to enter any portion of the Brazilian empire."

In short, all those prominent evils that have so afflicted Mexico, and, we may say, all other Spanish-American countries, had

still deeper root, if such a thing were possible, in the Portuguese dependency of Brazil. But now, how changed!

The abject dependence of Brazil continued down to an early period of the present century, when the world-moving operations of NAPOLEON had the effect to vitalize that country, and create such remarkable changes, both there and in the mother country, that in 1822 the independence of Brazil was suddenly and almost peacefully accomplished. In 1824, the same year that witnessed the formation of the federal constitution of Mexico, the present constitution of Brazil (with the exception of some slight changes recently made) was established. This constitution provides for a hereditary, constitutional monarchy of the most liberal character. Judicial proceedings are public. It provides for the habeas-corpus act as well as the institution of trial by jury. The legislative power is vested in the general assembly. It consists of a senate and chamber of deputies. For the latter, every male citizen of full age, if he possess an income of one hundred *milreis* (fifty dollars), is entitled to vote; but monks and domestic servants are excluded from the franchise. Senators for life are nominated by provincial electors in triple lists, from which three candidates are submitted to the emperor, who selects one; the principles of popular election and crown nomination are thus combined in the constitution of the second estate. Although Brazil does not possess the materials of a territorial peerage, it has constituted a second chamber as an element of vital importance in a popular government. Nobility in Brazil is not hereditary; it is conferred for public services and civil merit alone. There are four titles—those of marquis, count, viscount, and baron. The emperor possesses a legislative suspensive veto only.

The dispensation of justice, although perhaps not perfect, or free from some suspicion of corruption, is conducted with becoming solemnity, and is, on the whole, said to be satisfactory. One of the legal institutions of the country merits particular notice. Courts of conciliation are established throughout the empire; and no cause can be brought into any of the regular courts of law without a certificate from the district officer, that the parties to the suit have previously appeared

before him and endeavored to accommodate their differences. We commend this law to our legal reformers, as it must inevitably diminish immensely the amount of unnecessary litigation.

The country is divided into provinces, and there is a legislative assembly for each province. The presidents of the provinces are appointed by the emperor. There is no proscription on account of color, and though legally the blacks are eligible to office, they do not aspire to prominence in public or private life, but rest quiet and contented in the conviction that they occupy a position fully equal to what nature intended it should be.

The religion of the state is Roman Catholic; *but the principle upon which the Roman Catholic Church is based is altogether abjured in Brazil. Religious toleration is one of the fundamental principles of the constitution. All have full and entire liberty to profess and exercise any religion whatever, and to erect religious edifices.* The provincial assemblies have full power to legislate for ecclesiastical objects. On several occasions, the general assembly of Brazil has enacted laws to restrain the interference and curtail the authority of the Pope. At one remarkable crisis a complete separation from Rome was imminent, which would have been hailed, it is believed, with general satisfaction by the people. There cannot be a doubt but that the ties which bind this country to the Papacy are now of the slightest character, and might, with very little provocation, be snapped asunder any day. The religion of the Church of Rome has no root in the land; the priesthood are said to be diminishing year by year, and to have been recently so reduced in number that the government was under the necessity of sending to Italy for a fresh supply to keep up the regular ministrations of the church.

The institution of slavery in Brazil, under the operation of the constitution and public opinion, is in process of gradual and certain extinction. In 1850 measures were adopted for the abolition of the slave-trade, and, in 1853, there was not a single disembarkation. As a proof that the Brazilians have thoroughly abandoned the traffic in human flesh, it may be

stated that a slaver taken, in January, 1856, into Bahia and condemned, had touched at five places along the coast previous to her detection, but had not succeeded in selling a single slave.

The condition of the slaves is highly creditable to the country. By the Brazilian law, a slave can, at any time, appear before a magistrate, have his price fixed, and purchase his freedom. There is a system of colonization in progress intended to supply the gradually diminishing quantity of slave labor, and the statesmen of the empire are said to be devoting much time and attention to discover the best means of promoting immigration. Germany, Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira are constantly supplying laborers, attracted by the prospect which Brazil holds out to them, and there seems to be no doubt that the free African population will eventually fully suffice for those occupations in a tropical country for which the white race is necessarily unfitted. And now we come to a point in this matter which we particularly recommend to the attention of the abolitionists of the United States, and their brethren, the apostles of the "irrepressible conflict" doctrine.

For more than three hundred years, the entire agricultural and manufacturing interests of Brazil, from north to south, from east to west, have been based on slave labor. The institution of slavery has entered more thoroughly into the industrial system of Brazil than it has into that of the United States. Natural causes favor the system of slave labor in Brazil more than they do in the United States, and though the number of slaves in the former country reaches 3,000,000, the institution of slavery is steadily and surely coming to an end in that empire. And yet, though freedom of speech is allowed, and the press is free, they never had an anti-slavery society in Brazil, nor an anti-slavery journal. They never had any abolition agitators like WM. LLOYD GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS, etc., nor anti-slavery preachers like the Rev's CHEEVER and BEECHER, nor politicians of the WM. H. SEWARD stamp, to create sectional parties, and inaugurate a bloody, fratricidal strife. The "irrepressible conflict" doctrine was never known in Brazil, and yet the institution of slavery in that country is peacefully yielding to the system of free labor, in obedience to

natural law, and the powerful, undivided pressure of public opinion.

And thus it would have been in the United States, but for that development of practical infidelity which, from the want of faith, arrogates to itself the attributes of deity, and though claiming to act under the higher law, virtually sets the higher law at defiance by attempting to take it into its own hands.

The Emperor of Brazil is a noble representative of the house of Braganza, and under the constitution which he faithfully administers, the country is making prodigious strides in intellectual and material advancement. It is true that, as yet, the standard of Brazilian morality is not of the highest order, but the country is in a transition state. Education, intelligence, and civilization are steadily spreading over the land. The public credit is almost equal to that of the most respectable European governments, and a country of which, the first year or two of its independence, the currency consisted chiefly of copper and the notes of an insolvent bank, may now present itself as a borrower in the capitals of any of the moneyed states of Europe, with the assurance of a favorable reception.

The population is steadily increasing. A large and most valuable trade has sprung up; and there is scarcely a civilized country that does not gladly exchange its manufactures and commodities for the productions of Brazil. The commerce of the country rather more than doubles every ten years. Herewith is a table of the commercial exchanges for the past ten years:

	Imports.	Exports.	Total Commercial Exchanges.
1849-0.....	\$29,582,500	\$27,516,000	\$57,341,000
1850-1.....	38,459,000	33,890,000	72,349,000
1851-2.....	46,430,000	33,320,000	79,750,000
1852-3.....	43,666,000	36,822,000	80,488,000
1853-4.....	42,919,000	38,421,000	81,340,000
1854-5.....	42,585,000	45,349,000	87,934,000
1855-6.....	44,200,300	47,216,000	91,476,300
1856-7.....	62,613,000	57,273,000	119,886,000
1857-8.....	65,131,500	49,099,500	114,131,000
1858-9.....	63,634,000.	53,371,000	117,025,000

The population of the Brazilian empire is 8,677,800, and it

contains within its borders 2,973,406 square miles. An estimate of the colossal proportions of this empire can only be formed by comparing it with some of the great countries of the earth. European Russia has an area of 2,142,504 square miles, and the remainder of Europe occupies 1,687,626. The United States possess an area of 2,990,166 square miles. Brazil, therefore, has considerably more territory than European Russia, nearly double that of the remainder of Europe, and but little less than the entire American Union.

Here, then, we have a vast and magnificent region, lavishly endowed by nature, sparsely inhabited at present, it is true, yet making wonderful progress in all that constitutes national greatness and power.

If, in giving this succinct outline of the Brazilian empire, we have digressed from our principal theme, it is to institute a comparison between that country and Mexico; and to hold up the former in all its magnificent proportions and rapid advancement, as an interesting and instructive study for our own people, and in opposition to the despicable idea, so prevalent, that something like a curse rests upon the Spanish-American race on this continent, and that the Anglo-Saxon race, under Providence, is to be the instrument for the execution of this curse, by sweeping those despised nationalities from the face of the earth. This idea that God hates any portion of the human family on account of color, race, inferiority, or misfortune, is a Satanic sentiment that has been incorporated into the political creed, and we might almost say, the religious faith of the American nation, North as well as South. Under this idea, national crimes are committed sufficient to sink us as a nation, and it is well to inquire whether we are not now absolutely sinking by reason of its evil influence and weight.

Forty years ago, the masses of the Brazilian people were in that abject condition but little above the brute. Now, these same masses are making such rapid progress in all that tends to national greatness, that in the ordinary course of events, they will, at no very remote period, command the admiration and respect of the most enlightened peoples, and rank among the leading Powers of the world.

Brazil started on her new political career the same year as Mexico. The population of the former country is but little more than that of the latter, and the characteristics of race in both countries are similar. In climate and physical features there is not sufficient difference between Brazil and Mexico, to create any marked dissimilarity of character in the two nations. Brazil started with a constitutional monarchy: Mexico adopted the democratic form of government. We do not propose to argue the point as to which of these two forms of government is the best for the Spanish-American people. At the present moment, we wish to point out the great fact, the most important fact of all, namely, that the foundation of the government of Brazil was *civil and religious liberty*, while that of Mexico was *civil and religious despotism* of the most degrading and despotic character. Now compare the condition of the two countries. One affords an astonishing, stupendous example of progress: the other lies prostrate, wretched, and bleeding, with scarcely strength to profit by the victory over the enemies of her freedom, which has recently been so gloriously won. Can any one be blind to the real cause of the immense difference that now exists between Mexico and Brazil? We journeyed, some years ago, along the Rhone where it divides Switzerland from Savoy. Riding on the banquette of the diligence, we noticed that on the Swiss side of the river, the people, houses, grounds, etc., looked flourishing, neat, and comfortable; while on the Savoy side, every thing had a slovenly, rack-and-ruin appearance. In our wonder that so much difference could exist in a region divided by a stream which, in places, seemed but a few yards in width, we inquired the reason of the conductor. "*Voila le padre*," said the conductor, with a Frenchman's shrug, and significantly pointing to an individual in clerical hat and raiment walking on the *Savoy* side of the river. This was the reply we got; and it was quite sufficient. Switzerland was in the enjoyment of freedom in religion, while Savoy groaned under priestly despotism. Brazil is the only country in Spanish America whose fundamental law has sustained religious toleration, and she is the only bright example of advancement among those degenerated and unhappy nations.

"*Voilà le padre,*" we say, when we point out the first and great cause of difference between Brazil and Mexico.

The history of Brazil is full of instruction, especially to the statesman. The American people, particularly in the North, are accustomed to vaunt their rapid advancement as something miraculous in the history of nations; and to attribute such advancement to the fact that the forefathers, taken in hand by a *special* Providence, and placed on these shores, were of a higher order in a religious and political point of view than any class of men that ever sought to better their fortunes by migrating from one land to another. We do not dispute this assumption, but we point to the fact that now, while our own glorious confederacy, founded by our own worshipped forefathers, is crumbling and falling—rocking, reeling, and yielding in all its towering, giant strength to ceaseless and innumerable fanatical blows from fanatical pigmies, the immediate descendants of those same nation-creating forefathers—while this work of national destruction is going on at a fearful rate, we see looming up on the southern half of this continent a colossal empire, founded on a nationality we denounce and despise, but whose evident prosperity and rapid growth equal, if they do not surpass our own, when we consider the defective elements which composed Brazilian nationality when the experiment of a new government was commenced. How is it that this nationality has so suddenly and so immensely improved? In reply to this question, we give the words of SOUTHEY, who, in his history, says, "Long left to chance, it is by individual industry and enterprise, and by *the operation of the common laws of nature and society*, that this empire has risen and flourished, extensive as it is, and mighty as it must one day become; for its first colonists were ignoble men, carrying on an obscure warfare, the consequences of which have been greater and will be more durable than those produced by the conquests of ALEXANDER and CHARLEMAGNE."

Deny it as we will, we cannot obliterate, no, we cannot mitigate the fact that though our Declaration of Independence is a perfect declaration of human rights, our *written fundamental law* is, in one respect, against the "operation of the common

laws of nature and society," and under the pretence of remedying the great national evil that has grown out of that error in our written fundamental law, we do a still greater wrong in this more enlightened age, by deliberately ignoring the "*operation of the common laws of nature and society*," and force an unnatural result, which brings dissolution, disorder, and internecine wars, terminating at last in national ruin. Who can tell what race, what nation, what country will be the leading Power on this continent half a century hence?

But to return more directly to the question of Mexican nationality. The liberals have just gained a complete victory over the forces of the church, and the constitutional government is now located in the capital of the republic. This victory comes none too soon. It improves the condition of affairs vastly, but a new season of trial is now before those patriotic Mexicans, whose noble and self-sacrificing struggles have brought about the present happy result. It remains to be seen whether the liberals will be united among themselves, and whether foreign claimants will show any mercy. Let Mexico now be true to herself, and there is reason to hope that all will be well.

We have remarked upon the character of the foreign diplomacy which has heretofore prevailed in Mexico. England has carefully nursed those evils which have already come so near destroying Mexican nationality. England has pursued this course in spite of irrefragable evidence that in so doing she was completely annihilating her Mexican interests.

The exports to Vera Cruz of British produce and manufactures were, in 1856, £887,862; 1857, £567,311; 1858, £411,831. We have not the figures for 1859 and 1860, but we understand that the amount has dwindled down to an exceedingly low point. In addition to this, there has been little or no interest paid on the debts due to the English, for the past six years; and, as if to cap the climax, and expose the folly of English policy in Mexico, about \$1,000,000, interest money due to English claimants, which had accumulated in the city of Mexico, was, on the 19th day of November, 1860, by force of arms, burglariously abstracted from the vaults of the English

legation, by the very government that England had so persistently and so powerfully sustained. The active partisanship of Mr. OTWAY, late English minister to Mexico, in sustaining the church faction, is now a matter of history. It would appear that Mr. OTWAY was recalled the latter part of 1859, on account of the honest indignation manifested at his course by the English residents of Mexico, engaged in legitimate business. As a curious instance of the thoroughly besotted condition of the public mind in England, relative to Mexican affairs, we give the following:

From the London Times.

"A TESTIMONIAL TO MINISTER OTWAY.

"On the recent arrival in London of Mr. OTWAY, her Majesty's late minister plenipotentiary in Mexico, the Mexican-British bondholders presented him with a valuable and elegant testimonial expressive of their gratitude for the assistance they had received from him while fulfilling his official duties in Mexico. The testimonial consists of a massive silver candelabrum of ten lights, the stem bearing the lights arising from a triangular base, upon which are allegorical figures representing the services rendered by Mr. OTWAY under the impersonation of Britannia protecting commerce. The figure of Mexico occupies a prominent position, and by her side justice holds a sword and scales. A shield ornamented at the side with fruit indigenous to Mexico, bears in raised silver letters the inscription: 'Presented by the Mexican British Convention Bondholders to LOFTUS CHARLES OTWAY, Esq., C. B., Her Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary in Mexico, as a token of respect and gratitude for his able support of their rights.' This beautiful candelabrum has been executed by Messrs. HUNT & ROSKELL, No. 156 New-Bond street."

This is a new way for British capitalists to testify their love for one of their official representatives abroad, who was so active and efficient in bringing ruin upon their pecuniary interests. We have to add, in addition to the above, that the English government rewarded their late minister with diplomatic promotion on the continent.

The policy that England has pursued toward Mexico is inexplicable, except in the fact that a few interested individuals, official and private, control the action of the English government, and public opinion in England, on Mexican affairs, to the total destruction of the general and legitimate

English interests in that country. We can hardly expect any very sudden or material change in the policy of England toward Mexico. It is said that an English fleet will soon appear in the waters of the Gulf, in order to enforce redress of what England terms *grievances*. What attitude she will assume toward the victorious constitutional government of Mexico, remains to be seen.

We note the following in the money article of the *London Economist*, Dec. 22d, 1860:

"Mexican bonds have been in rather greater demand to-day, because it is regarded as impossible that the British government can, with any regard to its own dignity, suffer such an outrage to be perpetrated with impunity, as the forcibly breaking open, by order of the government (if the faction in possession of the city of Mexico can be called a government), of the chest containing \$1,000,000 belonging to the bondholders, which was deposited for safety with the British minister, and on which he had fixed his seal."

"*Outrage!*" says the *Economist*. If England should give Mexico a clean receipt in full of all demands, it would scarcely compensate for the outrages she has committed against Mexico during the past three years. The robbery by MIRAMON of the \$1,000,000 belonging to English bondholders, is not more disgraceful than the action of the British government in robbing the treasury of the constitutional government on the Pacific coast, by means of British ships-of-war, whose principal mission in that quarter appears to be to facilitate and enforce the contraband trade.

The recent diplomatic action of France and Spain in Mexico has been scarcely less disastrous to the latter country than has that of England. We are inclined to believe that this ruinous policy of European Powers in Mexico, except Spain, has, in the main, been based on false information from sources deemed reliable. We conceive this to be the case, more particularly with France; for, considering the independent position in which she stands relative to the Mexican republic, it is difficult to imagine what interest the practical and enlightened statesman who administers the government of the French empire with so much wisdom and success, can have in supporting a policy in Mexico

totally opposed to that which he so powerfully sustains in Italy.

It cannot be said, however, that the present attitude of the European Powers toward Mexico is favorable to the existence of Mexican nationality. But we consider this attitude of the European Powers less hazardous to Mexican nationality than the position our own country appears to be assuming toward the neighboring republic, in consequence of the disastrous political events that have recently occurred within its own borders. The indications are that the North and South intend to continue the struggle over the hypothetical negro in Mexico—to re-enact the bloody Kansas sham on a large scale on our southern borders. In view of what crazy fanatics and unprincipled politicians have already accomplished, who can say that they will not be successful in this their last grand scheme? We shall follow up this subject in the next number of the **MEXICAN PAPERS**.

VICTORY !

We have the extreme satisfaction of announcing in the present number of the **MEXICAN PAPERS**, the complete and glorious triumph of the liberals in Mexico. Our advices dated city of Mexico, Dec. 28, 1860, state that the decisive action between the liberal forces under General GONZALES ORTEGA, and the church army commanded by MIRAMON, the former numbering 12,000 men with 80 pieces of artillery, the latter 8,000 men with 40 pieces of artillery, took place on the 22d of December, 1860, on the heights of *San Miguel Calpulalpan*. The battle, which was very bloody, lasted three hours. MIRAMON was completely routed, and, with his generals, fled to the city of Mexico, escaping only with their lives by means of the fleetness of their horses. The liberals captured 4,000 prisoners, all the artillery, and the baggage of the enemy.

Great confusion existed in the city of Mexico on the arrival

of the defeated MIRAMON and his officers. A part of the church army remaining in the capital wished to defend it to the last, but as they numbered but 2,500 men, and the enemy, some 12,000 strong, being close at hand, they demanded that a capitulation should be entered into, if the liberals would grant them their lives. This proposition met with favor, and at the request of MIRAMON, the Spanish and French ministers, with General BERRIOZABEL and General AYESTARAN left in the afternoon to meet General ORTEGA, and negotiate with him relative to the capitulation of the capital.

Mr. LA REINTRIE, the American *chargé d'affaires*, was also invited to accompany them, but Mr. LA REINTRIE, to his honor let it be said, refused to have any thing to do with the matter of making terms for a murderous band of villains who have been plundering the country and butchering the people for the past three years.

The commissioners reached *Tepeje del Rio*, where General ORTEGA was quartered, about midnight. To their proposition for a capitulation, etc., ORTEGA replied that he should enter into no arrangement with the hostile party, and they must surrender unconditionally or *fight it out*. When the commissioner brought back this determined and energetic reply, the consternation of MIRAMON and his adherents was excessive. Madened by their defeat and wild with fear, this wretched band of outlaws, attended by about a thousand men, made hasty preparations for flight. On departing from the city they robbed wherever they could lay their hands on any thing of value. They took what remained of the English bondholders' money, some \$150,000, each robber going in pell-mell to grab the largest share, and after seizing all they could conveniently, the party fled in great confusion to parts unknown.

Thus fell MIRAMON, the vaunted hero and the best-beloved son of the Mexican church—he whom the English and French have sustained and eulogized as “a descendant of two of the finest races in Europe—a general and statesman of noble and brilliant qualities.” How ungrateful in MIRAMON to rob his friends, the English, of their last dollar in Mexico!

The defeated party left the city on the evening of the 24th,

and the next day it was occupied by the liberal army, to the intense joy of the people, always excepting the ecclesiastics. Bells were rung all day, and in the evening there was a universal illumination.

General ORTEGA immediately issued decrees relating to public order and the security of property.

The first decree was that any one caught in the act of stealing should be immediately executed, in consequence of which, the next day, two soldiers and three *leperos* taken in the act, were hung in the public Plaza. This decided, severe treatment had the desired effect, and the city was at once orderly and secure.

The clergy endeavored to instigate opposition to the new order of things, and kept the doors of the churches closed. But finding no one paid any particular attention to their doings, they finally sent a deputation to General ORTEGA to inquire if he wished the churches opened. ORTEGA coolly replied that it was a matter of indifference to him—they could consult their own interest in that respect.

The victorious general immediately requested President JUAREZ and his cabinet to remove from Vera Cruz to the capital and assume the reins of government.

Thus the cause of Mexican freedom has triumphed, untrammelled by any compromise with bigotry and despotism. This glorious end has been attained without disorder, without vengeance, and without crime. After three hundred and forty years of civil and religious oppression, a denounced and despised race is disenthralled. *A nation has been born to Liberty!*

This omnipotent fact will teach a salutary lesson to those who, in this country particularly, have raised their infidel voice in opposition to the manifest designs of the Almighty!



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